THE CRISIS

AUGUST 1915

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Conducted by

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, Business Manager

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PUBLISHER'S CHAT

The September CRISIS will be

CHICAGO NUMBER

devoted to an exposition of the splendid work of the 50,000 colored people of Chicago. There will be pictures of the Eighth Regiment, its armory and its officers; biographies of prominent citizens; views of churches, buildings, etc. The October CRISIS as usual will be

CHILDREN'S NUMBER

We want to publish 100 pictures of the most interesting colored babies in America. All pictures must be in this office *before September first.* Send us unconventional, stirring pictures and, if possible, do not ask for the return of photographs. If returns must be made, mark plainly on the back, and enclose postage. Begin and send pictures *now.* They cannot come too early.

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 10 —No. 4 AUGUST, 1915 Whole No. 58

V. B. SPRATLIN MISS GOSSIN MISS LEALTAD L. H. RUSSELL

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

EDUCATION

SEVERAL cases of scholastic distinction have come to us since last month. Miss Catherine Deaver Lealtad graduated from McAlester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, with first honors in a class of twenty-five completing the course in three years. She made the best scholarship record in the history of the college and received the Noyes' scholarship prize.

¶In Denver, Colorado, Valaurez B. Spratlin a seventeen year old student was among the honor men in a class of two hundred and sixty-four graduates of the Denver East Side High School. Spratlin pursued his whole course with his body encased in plaster of paris on account of an attack of spinal meningitis. Spratlin is also a brilliant pianist.

¶In the Museum of Fine Arts School, Boston, Massachusetts, Miss Susan P. V. Gossin a great granddaughter of John B. Vashon and great-great granddaughter of the Rev. Thomas Paul has been awarded a special scholarship for excellence in the department of design.

¶Louis H. Russell received the degree of Master of Arts from Cornell for work in physics and mathematics.

¶William B. Jason received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Pennsylvania for work in mathematics and physics.

¶Russell Lee of Des Moines, Iowa, is eleven years of age and in three years has done the school work which a normal child takes five and one-half years to do. The principal of his school says: "In all my experience as a teacher I have never seen a pupil make such remarkable progress." In a recent test in mathematics Lee ranked the whole school in accuracy and efficiency.

¶Miss Bernice Sanders who ranked her class at Wilberforce University received her degree "Summa Cum Laude" instead of "Magna" as announced last month. She attained "A" in every subject during her entire college course. She has been appointed a teacher in Wilberforce University with a year's leave of absence for study at Radcliffe.

¶Edith A. Stone of Minneapolis occupied the honor seat in the Whittier School the last three months of the year and will enter the high school at the age of twelve.

¶Miss R. A. Guinn of New Bedford is a graduate of the Massachusetts College of Pharmacy and has passed the examination for the State Board.

¶The colored school district of the Highland Park section, Louisville, Ken-

TRACK TEAM, PITTSBURG, PA., CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

tucky, has received five thousand dollars, their proportionate share of a railway condemnation compromise.

¶Mr. Julius Rosenwald has since October 1st, 1914, donated $6,191 toward the building of twenty-one school houses for colored children of Alabama. The State of Alabama gave $3,150; white people gave $1,570 and colored people themselves raised $9,279, a total of $21,190. Mr. Rosenwald is offering to help build two hundred school houses in Alabama and the South during a period of five years and will donate in all about $70,000. The money is given on condition that the State and the colored people help. The fund is administered by the extention department of Tuskegee Institute.

¶James N. Saunders who holds a Washington M Street High School scholarship was graduated from Syracuse University and won a prize for essay writing.

¶J. D. Coleman a freshman of Bates College has been awarded a scholarship in Harvard College and a prize for excellence in Greek.

¶Miss E. V. Johnson graduated in music from the University of Pennsylvania having made an excellent record.

¶The track team of the Pittsburgh Central High School consists of eight members; four white and four colored. One of the colored boys is captain.

¶Fisk University graduated thirty-eight students; twenty-one Bachelors of Art; twelve normal graduates and five with certificates in teaching. There are 1,041 living alumni.

¶Colored people of Jackson County, Arkansas, have purchased land on which they plan to build an industrial school, Old Glory College, in the fall.

¶Miss Mary M. Gibson of Radcliffe has written the music for the class song.

¶A granddaughter of the late Bishop Holly of Haiti was graduated this year from St. Paul's School, Lawrenceville, Virginia.

¶A permanent office of the Association of Negro Industrial and Secondary Schools has been established at 20 Vesey Street, New York City, with A. R. Burnett as executive secretary. The membership includes twenty-seven schools in ten states and the Association will be a center for publicity, methods, standardized finance and co-operation.

¶The Governor of Pennsylvania, the Hon. J. C. Napier, and the Rev. William N. DeBerry have been elected trustees of Fisk University.

¶Prof. William Pickens has been chosen Dean of Morgan College, Baltimore.

¶Miss Florence Anderson has been appointed State Supervisor of Colored Rural Schools in Kentucky.

¶On the twenty-fifth anniversary of their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Julius Rosenwald sent $5,000 to Tuskegee, to be distributed among the teachers there.

¶Fountain Peyton, a lawyer, has been appointed to succeed Dr. C. H. Marshall on the School Board of the District of Columbia.

¶Mr. Harry C. Turner, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Turner of Boston, Mass., was on June 2d awarded the degree of Ch. B. from the Medical Department of Boston University.

SOCIAL UPLIFT

PRESIDENT WILSON has issued a proclamation bespeaking national interest in the Negro exposition to be held in Richmond, Virginia, during the month of July. The President says with characteristic diffidence:

"The action of Congress in this matter indicates very happily the desire of the nation as well as of the people of Virginia to encourage the Negro in his efforts to solve his industrial problem."

¶Henry Taylor a colored man of Trenton, Tennessee, rescued a fifteen year old white girl from drowning. He will be recommended for a Carnegie medal. There are no threats of lynching.

¶A Virginia Lawn Tennis Association has been formed and held an interesting tournament at Lawrenceville.

¶The colored members of the Grand Jury of Passaic County, New Jersey, Messrs. Williams, Collins and Hopper were banqueted at Paterson recently. A white Episcopal clergyman presided and the sheriff of the county was present.

¶The Chicago exposition has received an additional grant of $25,000 from the legislature on condition that they raise a similar sum.

¶Lyman Beecher Stowe and Emmet J. Scott are at work on a life of Booker T. Washington.

¶J. O. Hopkins was re-elected to the City Council of Wilmington, Delaware for a second term.

¶Because of ill health Mrs. W. H. Baldwin, Jr., has resigned as chairman of the National Urban League.

¶The City Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Kansas City, Missouri, celebrated its tenth anniversary with a banquet in the gymnasium of the new $100,000 Y. M. C. A. Two hundred and twenty persons were present. The Federation includes nineteen clubs interested in painting, needlework, philanthropy, school work and social study.

¶W. R. Dyke, of Goode, Bedford County, Virginia, who rescued a baby from a burning house has received the Carnegie Medal for heroism and one thousand dollars.

¶Mrs. Mary C. Terrell was one of the principal speakers at the session of the Baptist Council of Women for Home Missions, which was held at the Panama Exposition.

¶Bernice Hartley is the first colored woman to register as a voter in Nevada.

¶The Masons of Washington, D. C., have begun work on their new temple.

¶The National League on Urban Conditions has opened a home for convalescents at White Plains, New York.

¶The Stoddard Baptist Home, Washington, D. C., a retreat for the aged, will soon be opened.

¶The Public School Board of Roslyn, Long Island, has been ordered by the court to admit the colored children which it formerly segregated. At a later appearance at court they must show cause why this order should not be made permanent.

¶Dr. S. C. Dickerson of Chicago, has been placed upon the staff of the Rush Medical College.

¶The Rhode Island Pure Food and Drug Commission has made Roscoe Heathman a member of its staff of drug experts.

¶After passing a successful examination, Arthur Sanderson, a patrolman of Oakland, has been advanced to the grade of corporal.

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MEETINGS

THE bronze statue of Wendell Phillips, by French, was dedicated last month in Boston. It has been well placed on a new boulevard. There were speeches by prominent men of both races and singing by a large colored choir.

¶The sixteenth annual session of the National Medical Association will be held in Chicago in August.

¶The Iowa State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs will hold its fourteenth annual session in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

¶Dr. B. T. Washington was one of the speakers at the Bloomington, Illinois Chautauqua.

¶The New York State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs unveiled a monument to Harriet Tubman last month in the Fort Hill Cemetery, Auburn, New York.

¶Semi-centennial celebrations of freedom will be held in Los Angeles and Keokuk, Iowa. White and colored people will take part in both celebrations.

¶The Nebraska State Federation of Women's Clubs held its tenth annual session in Lincoln.

¶At the recent meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress at Houston, Texas, the colored speakers were Dr. C. V. Roman, Dr. L. K. Williams, Prof. J. W. Gilbert, Pres. J. A. Booker, Dr. R. R. Wright and Monroe N. Work.

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MUSIC AND ART

MISS SARAH M. TALBERT of Buffalo, New York, daughter of Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, president of the New York State Federation of Clubs, was a graduating member of the piano class of 1915, of the New England Conservatory, Boston, Mass.

¶In the Devonshire town of Exeter, the Exeter Oratorio Society gave a concert for the War Fund of England, at which the first two parts of the Hiawatha Trilogy were the cantatas presented.

During the same month at Bournemouth, England, the program of the Pop Concert illustrating nationalistic tendencies, gave S. Coleridge-Taylor's tone-poem for Orchestra, "Bamboula," as an example of British music.

¶On June 17th at the second concert of the Lyric Club, Charles City, Iowa, Coleridge-Taylor's "Low Breathing Winds" was sung by the club under the direction of Frank Parker of Cedar Valley Seminary.

¶Harry T. Burleigh's "The Glory of the Day was in Her Face," a song for high voice, the words by James Johnson, is named by *Musical America* as an American composition worthy of recognition for teaching and public performance.

"Heigh Ho," by Burleigh, was among the song offerings of Mr. Joseph Mathieu, tenor, of the Stanley Quartet of New York, at a concert given at Kingston, New York.

¶The pupils of Miss Georgine Glover, pianist, of Boston, Mass., were heard in a successful recital at Court Hall on June 25th.

¶Another program of merit was presented by the piano pupils of Miss Mary L. Europe, on June 25th at Lincoln Temple, Washington, D. C.

¶Albert Spalding, the distinguished American violinist-composer, has continued the production of violin adaptations of old plantation melodies and will offer the same to the South American music-lovers during his present concert tour.

¶The North Side Choral Club and Orchestra under the direction of J. R. Rogers gave "Hiawatha's Wedding Feast" in Pittsburgh.

¶Miss M. L. York gave a piano recital at the Bethel A. M. E. Church at New Bedford, Mass.

¶The People's Choral Society of Philadelphia gave a benefit concert at Musical Fund Hall to assist Miss Marion E. Anderson, a young contralto with a very beautiful voice.

¶A Negro Folk Song Festival with five hundred voices under the direction of Mme. Lincolnia Haynes-Morgan was given at the Texas Normal Industrial Institute at Dallas, Texas. Over fifteen hundred persons attended.

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PERSONAL

MR. R. F. C. COOPER a colored Jamaican and second year student in medicine at Dalhousie University, Halifax, has rendered a signal service to his college, as well as shown evidence of exceptional ability, in his chosen profession, by drawing a set of twenty-five charts, or diagrams in colors, for use in the Histological Department of the Medical College. These diagrams are scientifically correct as well as artistically beyond criticism, but further than that they consitute a very valuable asset in the teaching equipment.

¶Mr. Charles Alexander has been put in charge of the correspondence with colored people at the Panama Exposition.

¶N. H. Lane, the aged janitor of an office building in Los Angeles, groped his way through the smoke in the burning building and saved two men.

¶Mrs. Anna R. Copeland, widow of W. L. Copeland, whose brother was executed with John Brown, died recently in Hot Springs, Va.

¶Gustavus Milhiser, a wealthy mill owner of Richmond, Va., bequeathed five hundred dollars to Rosa S. Dixon, and a sum to be placed in trust, from

which she will derive five hundred dollars a year.

¶The will of E. E. Des Verney of Savannah, Ga., disposes of $50,000.

¶Mr. U. Buckner, a colored man, is trainer for the Chicago White Sox.

¶Thomas Rutling, the first tenor of the famous Fisk Jubilee Choir, and its last surviving member, died recently at Harrowgate, England.

¶Rev. T. W. Henderson, D.D., a prominent minister of the A. M. E. Church, is dead.

¶The Delta Penny Savings Bank at Indianola, Miss., has been certified by the State Banking Department.

¶E. C. Brown, who has conducted a successful banking business in Newport News, plans to open a bank in Washington, D. C.

¶Mr. Chas. McQueen of Texas has invented a weight motor house-fan, that goes automatically by winding, like a clock.

¶Dr. G. A. Buckner of Indiana, U. S. Minister to Liberia, who is home on leave, says that country is feeling the effects of the European War. The foreign trade of the country has stopped entirely.

¶Dr. Chas. H. Roberts, a leading dentist of New York City, has gone to Paris to work in the clinic for the soldiers.

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THE CHURCH

SINCE the establishment of the Catholic Board for Colored Missions, forty new missions have been started and over five thousand children received in school. The work which has been done mainly in the South suffers from a lack of priests and sisters.

¶The New England Missionary Baptist Convention held its forty-first annual session at Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, New York City.

¶A Census report, relating to the Negro Church, says there are four colored priests in the Roman Catholic Church in the U. S. and one colored priest in the Greek Church.

¶The splendid new building of St. James Presbyterian Church, in New York City was dedicated in June.

ECONOMICS

THE Fair Publishing Company, backed by colored people, is said to be about to begin a series of weekly newspapers published in Philadelphia and distributed with local additions in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Baltimore and Washington. W. W. Rouke is editor and Dr. A. T. Boyer president of the corporation.

¶Plans are nearly complete for the reopening of the bank in Mound Bayou. The old bank building has been bought and $10,000 deposited in the Cleveland State Bank.

¶The Tunnel and Subway Contractors' International Union, New York City, the Tobacco Workers and the United Mine Workers of America, are three unions that admit colored men freely.

¶Teachers of industrial arts in the Baltimore and Washington schools have formed an Interstate Industrial Arts Association with Mr. D. A. Brooks as president.

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FOREIGN

DELOS R. DAVIS, Kansas City, died recently in Amherstburg, Canada. His father escaped to Canada on the underground railroad.

¶At the head of the regiment of Egyptian artillery, now fighting on the Yser, is a young West African, Col. Pasquale Denoix, who made a brilliant record at the Military Academy at Bordeaux.

¶A colored commissioner of St. Thomas, D. Hamilton Jackson, made a special trip to Denmark and obtained from the Parliament, freedom of speech for the islanders, full suffrage for natives, university education in Denmark for graduates of the island schools, replacement of white gendarmes by native police.

The governor, who was the friend of the planters, has been recalled and the land which has been held by the planters has been thrown open to the natives, who can get loans from the government with which to buy it.

Mr. Jackson spoke before the King of Denmark and was invited by the King of Sweden to visit him. He will pass through New York shortly.

¶Mrs. Sharp, who conducts a school for girls in the bush country, West

Africa, tells in a letter to friends here of the country's need for provisions, because of the stopping of all commerce. What little food is left is very high. She also tells of the help Major Charles Young has given her. He heard of her school from the natives and built a road, cleared some land, planted rice and gave her one hundred dollars.

¶One of a company of signalers, attached to the First West India Regiment, now taking part in the fighting against the Germans in Africa, displayed great bravery recently, under a thick fire.

¶The official report from Paris tells of the successful capture of a trench near the Dardanelles, under cover of the dark. Following orders, a mixed company of colored and white volunteers crept on hands and knees, up the embankment, and so surprised the Turks that they fired in the air and fled.

¶Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell of the Methodist Episcopal Church, recently returned from Africa, says that the war is affecting every part of the country, making living high and stopping business. Fighting between the different colonial forces is going on all over the continent.

¶Christopher A. Sapara Williams, a barrister, native of Sierra Leone, but resident in Lagos, is dead. He was an influential man in the colony and held many positions of public trust.

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COURTS

LAWYER HARRY E. DAVIS of Cleveland, Ohio, won a case some time ago under the Ohio Civil Rights law, where a restaurant had refused to serve a colored man. The case was appealed to the highest court. Lately the court has sustained the verdict against the restaurant people who were fined fifty dollars.

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THE GHETTO

CASES which grew out of the murder of Negroes by a mob in Palestine, Tex., some years ago, have been thrown out of court.

¶Senator Vardaman of Mississippi is speaking for Chautauquas throughout the west. His subject is always the race question.

¶Fear is expressed in a white newspaper that Negroes will be able to name members of the City Council in Waycross, Ga., if the new charter is adopted.

¶Mrs. Alice Jackson, a colored woman who with Geo. Savage, white, was convicted of violating the Mann Act and sent to prison, is in ill health. Savage was pardoned by President Wilson but no thought has been given to the woman.

¶A story comes from Oklahoma of the death-bed confession of Robert Lawson, a white man, who says he killed and robbed M. J. Scott, a wealthy resident of Kingston, De Soto Parish, La., thirty-four years ago. At the time a Negro, Wash Allen, was quickly lynched for the crime.

¶Betty Hicks, who fell heir to an $80,000 estate from the white father of her children, has been declared insane by a Tennessee jury. There is not the slightest contention that she is insane but the courts want to appoint a white guardian for her money. The case is still pending in court and the lawyers are getting a large part of the estate.

¶John Donaldson, Frank Wickware and a Cuban named Mendez, all colored, are said to be the equal of the best pitchers in the major leagues. White managers are aware of the splendid material they miss through color prejudice.

¶Dr. T. T. Wilkerson, of Jersey City, left $10,000 to a former fiancee, who broke her engagement to him when she discovered he was colored. She is married and lives in Jersey City. The rest of his estate he left to charities in the South.

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CRIME

THE following lynchings have taken place since our last record: At Round Oak, Jones County, Ga., S. Thomas, W. Gordon and S. Farrar and "probably" Green and his son; an "unknown man" and perhaps "several more," for the alleged murder of a white planter who was forcibly collecting a "small debt."

At West Point, Mississippi, a Negro accused of entering a white girl's room.

At Lewisville, Arkansas, Lon Healy, who shot and killed Roy Lester after a dispute concerning food on credit.

MEN OF THE MONTH

A NOTED SINGER

ANITA PATTI BROWN was born near Atlanta, Georgia, and as a child showed unusual fondness for singing. Her parents moved to Indianapolis, Indiana, where she sang in the choir but her father did little to support the family and before she was sixteen the girl was working in private homes for a living. Eventually she came to Chicago and married Mr. A. A. Brown who immediately made it possible for her to carry on her studies.

She won a scholarship in the Chicago Musical College and soon began her concert trips. She has traveled all over the United States, the British West Indies and South America and is without doubt one of the best soloists among Negro Americans and notable among Americans of any race.

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A SOCIAL LEADER

MRS. EURETTA BOZEMAN MATTHEWS was born at Troy, New York, March 28th, 1851. In 1876 she came to Washington as a teacher and soon attained prominence as a writer of short articles. In 1883 she married William E. Matthews, a successful broker and leader in social circles. He acquired a considerable fortune and after his death in 1894 Mrs. Matthews carried on his work. Finally, however, she retired from business and devoted her time to studies and the education of her daughter. She had an extended knowledge of literature and history, was a keen student and singularly free from prejudices. She numbered the leading colored men of her day among her intimate friends. Many of her relatives attained prominence. Her brother was the first colored physician of Charleston, South Carolina, and at one time postmaster of the city. Another brother was section chief of the treasury department. A sister was the wife of the late Andrew J. Jones of Philadelphia.

For several years Mrs. Matthews made her home with her daughter at Macon, Georgia, where her death took place in the spring.

MME. ANITA PATTI-BROWN

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A SOCIAL WORKER

MRS. MUSETTE B. GREGORY was born in Washington, D. C., and educated in the public schools. She afterward became a teacher but finally married Mr. Eugene Gregory, a graduate of Harvard and lawyer in New York City. Mrs. Gregory devotes much of her time to the work of social uplift. She is a member of the board of managers of the Old Folks' Home of Newark and of the Music School Settlement of New York City; she is a member and ex-President of the Phyllis Wheatley Literary Society of Newark and founder of the Urban Liter-

THE LATE MRS. E. B. MATTHEWS

MRS. M. B. GREGORY

ary Society of Trenton. Most of Mrs. Gregory's time, however, is given to the Home for Working Girls at 132 West 131st Street, New York City. This home is under the patronage of the Missionary Committee of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine and is doing excellent service for working girls. The home has been in existence for five years and is now looking for larger quarters.

BANQUET OF THE FEDERATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, KANSAS CITY, MO. (See p. 165)

THE GRANDFATHER DECISION

THE NORTHERN PRESS

The mass of opinion which has been brought out by the decision of the Supreme Court is, on the whole, most encouraging to believers in democracy, and a distinct warning to the reactionary South. The Oklahoma law which was declared unconstitutional is as follows:

"No person shall be registered as an elector of this state or be allowed to vote in any election herein unless he shall be able to read and write any section of the Constitution of the State of Oklahoma; but no person who was on January 1, 1866, or at any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under any form of government, or who at any time resided in some foreign nation and no lineal descendant of such person shall be denied the right to register and vote because of his inability to so read and write sections of such Constitution."

Several papers dwell on the unreasonable time it has taken the Supreme Court to come to this case. "It has looked for years," says the Troy (N. Y.) *Times*, "as if the United States Supreme Court would never get face to face with the attempt to disfranchise the Negroes of the South."

The Boston *Post*, the Helena (Mont.) *Record* and the New York *Evening Post* comment upon this. The last paper says:

"Everybody has always known that these discriminating suffrage statutes were shams and tricks. They pretended to do one thing while compassing another. But now it is the technicality loving judges who have brushed aside the technicalities, gone straight to the heart of the case, and declared bluntly that no such thing as a 'subterfuge' franchise can exist in this republic. All the talk for years past of doing something to enhance the popular esteem for the courts seems weak and pale compared with what the Supreme Court has done to exalt itself as a tribunal of high and exact justice, by this one splendid stroke."

In the North there is much speculation as to the practical result of this decision. "It is a great victory for the colored race; it is a great victory for civilization and citizenship," says the New Haven (Conn.) *Times Leader*.

Some papers are very optimistic. The *Gazette* of Trenton, N. J., says:

"It is possible that most of the legislation in the southern states to prevent Negroes from voting will be upset, or at least greatly modified."

The *Gazette Times* of Pittsburgh, Pa., adds:

"Congress has power to enact laws enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment, and it can reach into any state to regulate federal elections. The Democrats have been talking of passing a cloture rule in the Senate next winter, so that no measure can be talked to death and that action one way or the other can be secured. If they do that, and in the next or a succeeding Congress the Republicans obtain control, then there is likely to be revival of the effort to assure fuller voting rights to the colored men of the South. That opens illimitable possibilities of contention."

The Bridgeport (Conn.) *Post* says:

"The importance of this ruling for the North cannot be over estimated. Part of the Southern control of Congress comes from the effect of such unconstitutional laws. With equal suffrage in the South today that control would not exist in the incoming Congress. The decision is of vital importance."

The *Times* of Portsmouth, Ohio, thinks that this decision "again opens for contention those civic or quasi public rights, such as the common admission to hotels, theatres, trains and other quasi public places and amusements from which the Negro has been quite extensively debarred."

Other papers are less optimistic, but

nevertheless hopeful. The *Democrat Chronicle* of Rochester, N. Y., writes:

"The most that can be expected from the decision, in states where race bigotry is rampant, is that the status of the colored voter will be improved. The history of his struggle for his rights forbids any hope that he will at once be freely accorded all that is his due. The thing most to be dreaded is a return to old forms of intimidation."

The New Bedford, (Mass.) *Standard* inquires

"Whether the ingenuity of the southern states will be equal to devising an arrangement which will, in effect, disfranchise the majority of the Negroes without violating the Fifteenth Amendment."

The Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal* is sure that "for the time being at least a halt has been called to the defiance of the constitutional provision that the right of suffrage shall not be denied by reason of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Something must be devised more ingenious than this crude attempt to circumvent the plain letter of the solemn and binding amendment to the federal constitution, an amendment written in the blood of half a million men who gave their lives on Northern and Southern fields during four years of civil war."

And the Springfield *Republican* says:

"The South is again confronted with the suffrage problem by reason of this decision. The nullity of the Oklahoma law carries with it the nullity of all similar laws. Practically the effect need not be the capture of the state governments, the county governments and the municipal governments by ignorant masses of voters again enfranchised. Literacy and property tests for voting applied as hitherto would insure government by the educated portion of the population and also that portion having a property stake in the community. What is now necessary is that the ignorant and illiterate white as well as the ignorant and illiterate black shall be barred."

On the other hand, the *Plain Dealer* of Cleveland, Ohio, fears that further efforts to circumvent the Fifteenth Amendment will not only be tolerated but "welcomed" in the South.

The Buffalo *Express* says:

"This may end the legal attempts to keep Negroes from voting. But how about the illegal ones? When is the United States to suppress intimidation and false counting?"

The Norwich (Conn.) *Record* reminds us that there are places in the South where a Negro would not dare even "to try to vote."

The Binghamton (N. Y.) *Press* says:

"But there is still a question unanswered. The Federal Court can abolish the 'grandfather clause,' but it can't abolish the grandfathers, or the grandsons, either. And the Negro citizen may find in Oklahoma, as they have found elsewhere, that getting the right to vote from the Supreme Court in Washington is not exactly the same thing as getting the right from the election board in their own voting district."

Most of the papers dwell upon the essentially undemocratic nature of the "Grandfather Clause." "It reeked with injustice," says the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia. "These 'trick laws' have 'been a disgrace,'" says the Philadelphia *Enquirer*. It adds:

"If Southern States were in actual danger of being subjected to rule by ignorant colored voters there would be much sympathy for them. But there is no reason why they should be—that is if they are willing to eliminate all illiterate persons, whether white or black, from the voting franchise. They cannot point to illiterate colored men and say to them, 'You shall not vote,' unless at the same time they shall point to the illiterate whites and say precisely the same thing to them."

The Hartford (Conn.) *Courant* says:

"If the South would accept the doctrine that ignorance is just as bad in a white man as in a Negro, and make its political estimates on personal character instead of the color of the skin or the tint of the eyes, the white citizens and the Negro citizens of that region would soon work their problem out in satisfactory shape."

A few of the editors strike at the deeper questions involved. The Boston *Traveler*, for instance, declares that:

"The whites of the South have never, as a body, shown any great degree of

reverence for any law that conflicted with their wishes, local or general. The conditions prevailing at Atlanta, Ga., of late, where companies of soldiers have had to protect the Governor of the state from the fury of the mob because of the conscientious performance of his duty, is characteristic of the dangerous vagaries of the white people of the South. Their neighborhood feuds and murders are symptomatic of their attitude of mind toward matters of broader national importance. With many of them prejudice and hatred are more powerful than statutes and courts. To many of them a lynching is a holiday and a 'nigger hunt' an occasion of rare enjoyment."

The Milwaukee (Wis.) *Leader* says:

"The Farmers' alliance and the Populist movements made it manifest to the small white farmers that they had an identity of economic and political interests with the Negro renters. It was this very fact that made the Populist movement so menacing to the ruling oligarchies then in control of the Democratic party. Though devoted to 'white supremacy' and opposed to Negro suffrage, the Democratic organizations in such states as Alabama and Georgia only succeeded in maintaining their hold by gigantic ballot frauds in the black counties. They ceased, by their own showing in the fraudulent election returns, to be the choice of white majorities and owed their election and continuance in power to Negro votes.

"The Supreme Court has interpreted and defined the law, but it can not very well invade every voting precinct in the South and place a ballot in the Negro's hands. When the time shall come, when economic conditions and the education of the masses in the South shall awaken the men who toil and labor to their common interests, the very class that is now so fearful of 'Negro sovereignty' will be found appealing to the Negro voter to help save 'Old Massa' from the scalawags who want to 'confiscate' his property.

"The Almighty Dollar knows no color line."

The Paterson (N. J.) *Press* says:

"One of the curious sequences of this discussion is the change it has brought in the attitude of the South towards woman suffrage. That section had been reported as generally opposed to equal suffrage, fearing that it would give votes to Negro women. Now it is said that Democratic politicians in the South feel that woman suffrage is their only salvation. But, as that cause is based upon equal rights for all, if it is won how can Negro women be ruled out of the voting class? And if they do vote, will not the race trouble be as acute as it was before?"

A fair statement of the conclusion of level-headed thinkers is given in the Washington correspondence in the New York *Evening Post* sent on the day of the decision.

"The most important race decision since the Dred Scott holding, is the way in which the capital today regards the Supreme Court's decision striking down the 'grandfather clause' legislation of the Southern States. Taken in connection with another of the court's decisions—all rendered yesterday—to the effect that a Negro not only has a constitutional right to vote, but to have his vote counted, it is believed that the Negro once more may become a potent factor in the community in the Southland, wherever he may reside.

"By upholding a criminal conviction of election officials in the Oklahoma case for denying Negroes the right to vote, and by approving the award of money as damages to Negroes turned away from the registration booths in Annapolis, Md., the court demonstrated that both the penitentiary and the purse of election officials are to be used as means of enforcing the nation's supreme law that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or the States on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

THE COPPERHEAD PRESS.

SOUTHERN SYMPATHIZERS

The New York *Times* leads the "copperheads" in the North with a long distribe against Negro suffrage and some fine heroics about "the determination of the white man to rule the land wherein he lived!"

The New York *Sun* also declares that:

"There is no sentiment of substantial importance North or South for a radical change in the political status of the Negro in the Southern States."

"Legal attempts to keep the Negroes from voting may stop," says the *Knickerbocker Press* of Albany, New York, "but the illegal attempts are likely to continue and they are likely to be successful, for the white people of the south will continue to refuse to let Negroes rule them through the ballot box. There is no law which is strong enough to overcome this race prejudice or to suppress intimidation and false counting."

"The situation is almost unbearable," says the *Union Advertiser* of Rochester, New York:

"The whites have proved that, if necessary, they will resort to force of arms to prevent the blacks from gaining the supremacy, and the Fifteenth Amendment stands directly in the way of their gaining what they will have by legal methods. Intimidation, bad politics, illegality have been the result of a seemingly unsolvable problem."

The Waterbury (Conn.) *American* complains of being disturbed since "the country had for the most part become reconciled to the devise by which the South had overcome the constitutional amendment which allowed the Negroes to vote."

The southern editor of the Chicago *Tribune* in a long and rather maudlin editorial complains that we are thus "brought back to the existence of the Fifteenth Amendment and to the great problem its authors foolishly thought could be solved by words. But underlying this situation there is a problem of the national mind which affects all our problems. We indulge ourselves in a *theoretical* altruism for which we are seldom willing to pay. We pamper ourselves with an optimism which we will not permit to be challenged by uncomfortable facts."

THE SOUTH.

BOURBON AND PROGRESSIVE

The attitude of the South toward the Supreme Court decision is most illuminating. First, there are certain confessions of fact. The Columbia (S. C.) *State* says, for instance:

"There are now in South Carolina about 180,000 white men of voting age and about 175,000 Negroes. Of the latter about 33,000 are qualified to obtain registration certificates as property-holders, regardless of literacy and, according to the loose census definition, only 40,000 of the Negro male adults are illiterate. Probably 50,000 or 60,000 Negroes in this State are lawfully qualified to register. In the last presidential election the combined Taft and Roosevelt vote was less than 2,000."

J. C. Manning a banished southerner writing for the Boston *Traveler* declares that the white masses "voted against Alabama's disfranchising constitution" but all in vain because "ratification was secured by the black belt frauds. Dallas county, for example, having 2,500 whites and 8,000 colored male citizens of voting age, would return 8,000 majority for the ratification of the constitution.

"The results we see in Alabama today. The present Governor of Alabama is Governor by the grace of about 60,000 voters. There are as many disfranchised whites in Alabama as there are of disfranchised colored. The motive of the legislation was not so much to disfranchise the Negro, as claimed, as to obliterate the opposition to the Democratic oligarchy. This fact is what the American people need to understand."

The first impulse of the South is to dismiss such facts together with this decision as unimportant. "It may be confidently predicted," says the Knoxville (Tenn.) *Sentinel*, "that any expectations of political revolutions in the near future in the South that may be based upon the decision declaring the 'Grandfather clauses' unconstitutional are doomed to be disappointed."

The *Times Union* of Jacksonville, Fla., is even more naive:

"So the South does not need to discriminate between voters on the color line. The Negro cannot control anywhere, and is not even the balance of power anywhere. The Negro has increased the representation of Southern states in Congress, and the vote of Southern states in the electoral college, and that is all that remains of the effect of the

laws that gave him the ballot; and that increase in representation in Congress and in the vote in the electoral college is a Democratic increase, and would remain so if the grandfather clause were taken out of every state constitution in which it has been inserted."

Even if there is any danger say other papers it can be easily "circumvented" by "contrivances." Thus the Raleigh (N. C.) *Times* says, "It would not be hard to devise another amendment that would stand."

The *News Observer* of the same city declares that "Those who think that it is impossible to frame suffrage laws to meet the necessity fail to understand the resource of the statesmanship of the South."

The Louisville (Ky.) *Times* suggests that:

"Certain it is that the white man will not again submit to his political domination as in the days of the Carpetbagger. The simple expedient of force will doubtless be used if all other means fail."

On the whole, the faith of the South is pinned to the "White Primary" and we have two frank explanations of what the "White Primary" means. One is from the Columbia (S. C.) *State*:

"As the Negroes ceased voting, in the early eighties, in the counties, primaries were instituted and these rapidly came to be the deciding elections. In 1886 members of the National House of Representatives began to be chosen by primaries and some years later the primaries became the method of choosing State officers, too.

"In other words South Carolina went back practically to the system that prevailed in 1860. The primary became what the general election was then. The Negroes were gradually excluded from the primaries."

The Saginaw (Mich.) *News* adds this illuminating bit:

"Take for instance the so-called 'black counties' of Texas. In many of these counties, lying principally in the Colorado and Brazos river bottoms, the Negro population numerically is the largest, and without the methods adopted by the whites to control the majority the blacks could and would elect their own race officials. But for many years there has existed in these counties a white man's league. It includes every reputable white man, irrespective of politics, in the county. As soon as a new comer arrives he is invited to join the league. Failing to do so, he can obtain no credit or financial assistance from any member. As these are strictly farming communities where the crops, principally cotton, are raised on credit, the efficiency of the plan is apparent. The white man's league holds conventions, settles its own differences, political and otherwise, and makes its nominations for county officers.

"Now comes the place where the Texas law lends its aid to the leaguers. The bonds of county officials must be signed by responsible individuals residing within the county. As every financially responsible bondsman is a member of the league only its nominee can qualify."

Small wonder that the Macon (Ga.) *News* declares "the white primary has long since solved the problem of the Negro in politics in this State, and even if the Georgia registration law should ever be annulled by the Supreme Court of the United States the Negro would only be able to participate in the general elections and in the national election. The Negro is eliminated from Georgia politics for good and for all time."

Several papers, however, see beyond their noses. The Louisville (Ky.) *Post* pins its faith to the continued solid white vote of the South. The Charleston *News and Courier* sees, however, the unfortunate results of this method of voting. "The net result of the 15th Amendment, the full force of which is now asserted by the Supreme Court, has been to prevent the white people of the Southern States from dividing upon political questions into those natural divisions which are the rule elsewhere. It has not given the Negro any practical advantage whatsoever. Instead it has made matters more difficult for him. But it has repressed the development of a healthy political independence on the part of the whites."

The real danger of intelligent efforts in the white South lies in the ignorance of white people. The Louisiana des-

patch to the New York *Herald* says that the coming constitutional convention "will face the problem of whether the several thousand of illiterate white voters possessed of no property" shall be "disfranchised or be admitted to the franchise through some new method."

The Charleston *News and Courier* says "Wherever any considerable number of white men are unable to read and write there is a joint in the armor of white supremacy. This is the South's real weakness, which ought to be cured without delay."

Of course the corollary of this is that the Negroes must be kept in becoming ignorance! Meantime the plea to intelligent Negroes not to want to vote and not to let their followers vote bobs up again. The *News Leader* of Richmond, Va., says:

"The intelligent, law-abiding, self-respecting Negroes, who are the product of the South's 'restricted franchise legislation,' and who are in a position to leaven the masses with higher aspirations, would be guilty of a crime against their race if they did not discourage all suggestion from any quarter whatever that the decision in the 'grandfather clause' cases stands for aught but what appears on its face."

The *Chronicle* of Augusta, Ga., is of course sure that "politics is the greatest danger of the Negro."

The Houston (Tex.) *Chronicle* is most amusing. It practically says "sh!"

"The less said about politics, so far as the Negro is concerned, and the less laws passed and the less commotion invited the better it will be for him and for the white people with whom he lives and to whom, under favorable conditions, he is of tremendous economic value."

"Southern journalist," writing in the Boston *Transcript* regards all this of little avail. He declares that "the general disqualification of the Negro in the South by a literacy test is not possible," and also that the Negro is becoming a property holder on a large scale. While the Supreme Court decision is not likely to have immediate political effect yet he says:

"It will, however, have a revolutionary, though slow, influence on the whole social and industrial structure of the South. It will be worth, in educational value, more than a direct appropriation or endowment of millions for schools. It will, in a word, do more to reduce illiteracy than all the propaganda and compulsory education laws put together. It is not an exaggeration, therefore, to say that the ultimate effect of the decision on Southern development will be but slightly less than that exerted by the Emancipation Proclamation."

THE BLACK MAMMY

By JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

O whitened head entwined in turban gay,
O kind black face, O crude, but tender hand,
O foster-mother in whose arms there lay
The race whose sons are masters of the land!
It was thine arms that sheltered in their fold,
It was thine eyes that followed through the length
Of infant days these sons. In times of old
It was thy breast that nourished them to strength.

So often hast thou to thy bosom pressed
The golden head, the face and brow of snow;
So often has it 'gainst thy broad, dark breast
Lain, set off like a quickened cameo.
Thou simple soul, as cuddling that babe
With thy sweet croon, so plaintive and so wild,
Came ne'er the thought to thee, swift like a stab,
That it some day might crush thine own black child?

LINCOLN AND TRUTH

THE picture of Sojourner Truth with Lincoln, on the cover of your August number, revives many thrilling childhood memories in my mind. Sojourner Truth stayed with us through the time of one of the woman suffrage conventions in New York City. I was a little girl and very proud of my reading, and I used to read to Sojourner. One day she told me, when I suppose I showed some surprise at her not being able to read, that "she could not read such little things as letters; that she read men."

HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH.

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"VOTES FOR WOMEN"

THE editor had naturally expected to embellish this number of THE CRISIS with a particularly strong article on woman suffrage. He was going to marshall arguments, use a bit of sarcasm and end with some appeal to justice and sentiment.

However, after he had read the symposiums sent us so quickly and courteously by our friends from Boston to Tacoma and from St. Paul to Atlanta he saw no necessity of adding a single word to what must be regarded as one of the strongest cumulative attacks on sex and race discrimination in politics ever written.

FRANK

THE Frank case only offers illustration of the truth that in the South all things may be brought about by an appeal to prejudice. This case differs from similar cases principally in that the victim was a Jew instead of a Negro and that a governor had courage enough at the last to resist the popular clamor for his blood and base his decision on the evidence in the case. The case also illustrates strikingly the inadequacy of our legal machinery in solving questions of justice. Frank escaped a legal lynching by the narrowest possible margin. His sentence was commuted by Governor Slaton only a few hours before the time appointed for his death. His appeal had been carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. The majority of the body like that of the State Supreme Court based its adverse decision entirely on points of law. It practically said that Frank had had a fair trial in law, if not in fact.

It is also difficult, it seems, for Boards of Pardon and Governors to deal with an "atmosphere"—say such an atmosphere as that of Atlanta, during the hours in which Frank's life hung in the balance. Perhaps that is the real reason for the logical decision that a man of whose guilt there is too grave a doubt to hang him, may still be found guilty with enough certainty to spend his life in a Georgia convict camp. At all events it is very like the law.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

A Symposium by Leading Thinkers of Colored America

THE LOGIC OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BY REV. FRANCIS J. GRIMKE

Pastor 15th St. Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.

I AM heartily in favor of woman suffrage. I did not use to be, but it was simply because I had not given the subject due consideration. The moment I began to think seriously about it, I became convinced that I was wrong, and swung over on the other side, and have been on that side ever since. I do not see how any one who stops to think, who takes a common sense view of things, can be opposed to the franchise for women. What is this right to vote, after all? Is it not simply the right to form an opinion or judgment as to the character and fitness of those who are to be entrusted with the high and responsible duty of making laws and of administering the laws after they are made, and of having that judgment count in the selection of public officials? The ballot is simply the expression of the individual judgment in regard to such matters. Such being the case three things are perfectly clear in my mind: (1). The interests of women are just as much involved in the enactment of laws, and in the administration of laws, as are the interests of men. In some respects they are even more so. In many things, such as the liquor traffic, the social evil, and other demoralizing influences, which directly affect the peace and happiness of the home, the kind of laws that are enacted, and the character of the men who are to enforce them, have for women a peculiar, a special interest.

(2). The average woman is just as well qualified to form an opinion as to the character and qualifications of those who are to be entrusted with power as the average man. The average man is in no sense superior to the average woman, either in point of intelligence, or of character. The average woman, in point of character, is superior to the average man; and, in so far as she is, she is better fitted to share in the selection of public officials.

(3). To deprive her of the right to vote is to govern her without her consent, which is contrary to the fundamental principle of democracy. That principle is clearly expressed in the Declaration of Independence, where we read: "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Under this principle, which is a just principle, women have the same right to vote as men have. Are they not governed? And being governed, can the government imposed upon them be justly imposed upon them without their con-

sent? It is simply to treat them as minors and inferiors, which every self-respecting woman should resent, and continue to resent until this stigma is removed from her sex. The time is certainly coming, and coming soon I believe, when this just claim on the part of women will be fully recognized in all truly civilized countries.

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CHICAGO AND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

BY HON. OSCAR DE PRIEST

Alderman of the City of Chicago

I favor extension of the right of suffrage to women. The experience in Chicago has been that the women cast as intelligent a vote as the men. In the first campaign in which the women voted in Chicago, a certain degree of timidity attended their advent. In the recent campaign, however, the work of the women was as earnest and the interest as keen as that of the men and in some instances the partisanship was almost bitter. As far as the colored men are concerned, in the aldermanic campaign of 1914 the feeling was so high that it penetrated social, church and other circles and some friendships of long standing were threatened. In the campaign of 1915 when colored men were primary candidates for alderman, the women of the race seemed to realize fully what was expected of them, and, with the men, rolled up a very large and significant vote for the colored candidates; and they were consistent at the election, contributing to a plurality of over 3,000 votes for the successful colored candidate in a field of five. Personally, I am more than thankful for their work and as electors believe they have every necessary qualification that the men possess.

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POLITICS AND WOMANLINESS

BY BENJAMIN BRAWLEY

Dean of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

The argument is all for woman suffrage. More and more one who takes the opposing view finds himself looking to the past rather than to the future. Each woman as well as each man is a child of God, and is entitled to all the privileges of that high heritage. We are reminded of the heroine in "A Doll's House:" "Before all else you are a wife and mother," says the husband in Ibsen's play. "No," replies Nora, "before all else I am a human being."

There is one objection which many honestly find it difficult to overcome. There are thousands of men in this country who are theoretically in favor of woman suffrage, but who would be sorry to see their wives and sisters at the polls. They cannot overcome the feeling that woman loses something of her fineness of character when she takes her place with a crowd of men to fight out a live issue. Her very need of a protector calls forth man's chivalry; take away that need and the basis of woman's strongest appeal to man is gone.

Even this last objection, merely a practical one, can be overcome. The finest and deepest culture is not that which keeps its possessor forever enclosed in a Doll's House. It is rather that which looks at life in the large, with a just appreciation of its problems and sorrow, and that labors in the most intelligent manner to right the wrongs that are in existence. When once everywhere woman has entered the fray and helped to clean up some of the graft in our cities and to improve the tone of our voting places, even this last fear will disappear.

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CHRISTIANITY AND WOMAN

BY JOHN HURST, D.D.,

Bishop of the African M. E. Church and Secretary of the Bishops' Council

The earlier civilizations seem to have conspired to limit woman's sphere; her position and functions as member of the community were to extend so far and no further. Intellectual accomplishments and graces could raise her beyond the status of the slave, but not beyond the estimate put upon a toy, a bauble or a common-place ornament. Often she was subjected to systems leading to degradation, stifling her soul and stealing away from her the qualities that make an individual and a woman. The law forbidding her to abstain from the service at the Jewish Synagogue, said she should not be seen. Amidst the civilization of classic antiquity, even down to the enlightened age of Pericles, she was subservient to the caprices and rude pas-

DR. GRIMKE MR. LEWIS JUDGE TERRELL MISS JACKSON

sions of the other sex. Her fate was disposed of with little regard to her wishes. She had even no choice as to whom she should marry. The sacred fire of love was not supposed to burn upon the altar of her heart. She was but a commodity, a chattel to be bartered off. Under the Roman law, her status was hardly that of a human being. Whether under the Empire or the Republic, she had not even a first name.

But with the advent of Christianity, the path for a true, honorable and lasting civilization was laid. It discarded and upset the teachings of the past. It gave woman her freedom, and womanhood has been lifted to the place where it justly belongs. Christianity established equality and community of woman with man in the privileges of Grace, as being heir together with all the great gifts of life; receiving one faith, one baptism and partaking of the same holy table. Its thundering message to all is "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for we are all one in Christ Jesus," and the echo of its teachings the world over is to "Loose her and let her go."

"ABOUT AUNTIES"

BY HON. J. W. JOHNSON,
Formerly U. S. Consul to Nicaragua

There is one thing very annoying about the cause of Woman Suffrage and that is the absurdity of the arguments against it which one is called upon to combat. It is very much more difficult to combat an absurd argument than to combat a sound argument. The holder of a sound argument is generally a person amenable to reason and open to conviction; whereas, the holder of an absurd argument is always a person blinded by prejudice or bound by some such consideration as custom or sentiment; a person, indeed, to whom it is often impossible to prove that 2 and 2 make 4.

The people who oppose votes for women are divided into two classes:—those who boldly declare that women are inferior beings, neither fit nor capable of becoming fit to exercise the right of suffrage, and those who apologetically contend that the ballot will drag woman down from her domestic throne and rob her of all gentleness, charm, goodness,—this list of angelic qualities may be extended to any length desired.

It takes only a glance to see the striking analogy between these two arguments and the old pro-slavery arguments. The very ease with which they can be disproved makes them exasperating.

But, regardless of all arguments, for or against, woman is going to gain universal suffrage. The wonderful progress made by the sex in the last century and a half places this beyond doubt. This progress is nowhere more graphically indicated than by the fact that in the first edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica (1771) the article "Woman" consisted of eight words, "Woman,—the female of man—See Homo." In the edition of 1910 the article "Woman" takes up seven pages. Besides there are thirty women among the writers of the Encyclopedia, and the work contains articles on more than five hundred women, distinguished in history, literature and art.

Woman has made her place in the arts, she is making her place in the economic world, and she is sure to make her place in the political world.

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OUR DEBT TO SUFFRAGISTS

BY HON. ROBERT H. TERRELL,

Justice of the Municipal Court, District of Columbia

Of all the elements in our great cosmopolitan population the Negro should be most ardently in favor of woman suffrage, for above all others, he knows what a denial of the ballot means to a people. He has seen his rights trampled on, he has been humiliated and insulted in public, and he has brooded over his weakness and helplessness in private, all because he did not possess the power given by the vote to protect himself in the same manner as other classes of citizens defend themselves against wrong and injustice. To those who oppose the right of women to vote it may be well to quote the stirring words of Benjamin Wade, of Ohio, uttered on the floor of the United States Senate, when he was advocating Negro Suffrage. He said: "I have a contempt I cannot name for the man who would demand rights for himself that he is not willing to grant to every one else."

Finally, as a matter of sentiment, every man with Negro blood in his veins should favor woman suffrage. Garrison, Phillips, Frederick Douglass and Robert Purvis and the whole host of abolitionists were advocates of the right. I often heard it said when I was a boy in Boston that immediately after the Civil War Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and other leaders of the women's rights movement at the request of these men devoted all of their efforts towards obtaining the ballot for the Negro, even to the neglect of their own dearly cherished cause, hoping, indeed, that the black man, who would be in some measure the beneficiary of their work and sacrifice, would in turn give them the aid they so sorely needed at that time. Now what our fathers failed to do for these pioneers who did so much for our cause before and after the great war, let us do for those who are now leading the fight for woman suffrage. I believe that in supporting them we will render our country a great and much needed service.

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WOMAN IN THE ANCIENT STATE

BY W. H. CROGMAN, LITT.D.,

Professor of Ancient Languages, Clark University, S. Atlanta, Ga.

Slowly but steadily woman has risen from a state of servile dependence to her legitimate position of respect and consideration, and it needs no prophetic vision to see that the full recognition of her civic rights is near at hand. To form a just estimate of her achievements to date one must necessarily take into consideration the point from which she started, that is to say, the condition of her sex in the ancient state.

For light on this we turn naturally to the two most enlightened nations of antiquity. In the Homeric age woman was treated, we should infer, with tender and affectionate regard, and her virtues were sung by the greatest of poets. Even today, after twenty-seven centuries have rolled by, one cannot read without emotion and a thrill of admiration the story of Penelope's conjugal fidelity to her absent husband. Nor are we less affected by the scene of Hector and Andromache with the babe in her arms. Yet it would not be safe to conclude that these instances were fairly representative of the general status of woman in the ancient state, for at the same period there also existed cruelty, brutality, treachery. Beside the fidelity of Penelope may easily be placed the infidelity of Helen and the perfidity of Paris. Women were captured in war and subjected to the unspeakable. The greatest poem of the ages is but a recital of the fatal quarrel of two brutal men over the disposal of a captive maiden. Woman had practically no part in state affairs. Her duties were chiefly confined to the home. Says one writer:

"At no time of her life could a woman be without a guardian. If her husband was not alive, it would be her nearest male relative, and this person remained her guardian even when she was married. After her husband's death her son was her guardian. She could not legally make any contract beyond a shilling or two—there was no occasion for an Athenian to advertise that he would not

MISS BURROUGHS MRS. DAVIS MISS JONES MRS. TURNER

be responsible for his wife's debts—and she could not bring actions at law."

And all this in Athens, in Athens at the summit of her greatness!

It is needless to say that a somewhat similar state of things existed at Rome where the father had the right of life and death over every member of the family. Verily it is a far cry from the rostrum of today, graced by the presence of a woman earnestly pleading for her civic rights, to that dismal period when she was a negligible factor in human affairs.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

BY CHARLES W. CHESNUTT

Author of "The Wife of His Youth," "The Marrow of Tradition," etc.

I believe that all persons of full age and sound mind should have a voice in the making of the laws by which they are governed, or in the selection of those who make those laws. As long as the family was the social unit, it was perhaps well enough for the householder, representing the family, to monopolize the vote. But with the broadening of woman's sphere the situation has changed, and many women have interests which are not concerned with the family.

Experience has shown that the rights and interests of no class are safe so long as they are entirely in the hands of another class—the rights and interests of the poor in the hands of the rich, of the rich in the hands of the poor, of one race in the hands of another. And while there is no such line of cleavage between the sexes as exists between other social classes, yet so far as women constitute a class as differentiated from men, neither can their rights be left with entire safety solely in the hands of men. In the gradual extension of statutory rights, women are in many countries, the equals of men before the law. They have always been subject to the burdens of citizenship. The burden of taxation, generally speaking, falls more heavily upon them, perhaps because they are more honest in returning their personal property for taxation, or less cunning in concealing it. They are subject, equally with men, to the criminal laws, though there, I suspect, for sentimental reasons, the burden has not fallen so heavily upon them. Their rights need protection, and they should be guarded against oppression, and the ballot is the most effective weapon by which these things can be accomplished.

I am not in favor of woman suffrage because I expect any great improvement in legislation to result from it. The contrary, from woman's lack of experience in government, might not unreasonably be expected. Women are certainly no wiser or more logical than men. But they enjoy equal opportunities for education, and large numbers of them are successfully engaged in business and in the professions and have the requisite experience and knowledge to judge intelligently of proposed legislation. Even should their judgment be at fault—as men's judgment too often is—they have fine intuitions, which are many times a safe guide to action; and their sympathies are apt to be in support of those things which are clean and honest and just and therefore desirable—all of

which ought to make them a valuable factor in government.

STATES' RIGHTS AND THE SUFFRAGE

BY HON. JOHN R. LYNCH

Major, Retired, U. S. Army; formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives of Mississippi; U. S. Representative, 6th District of Mississippi, 43rd, 44th and 47th Congresses; 4th Auditor of the U. S. Treasury, 1889-93; etc.

What the friends and advocates of equal suffrage have to fear more than anything else, is the dangerous and mischievous doctrine of "States' Rights." Those who are opposed to equal suffrage contend that it is a local and not a National question—one that each State must determine for itself. But what is a State? It seems to be an indefinable abstraction. "The United States," the National Constitution declares, "shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government," but this is a meaningless declaration. It has remained a dead letter since the adoption of the constitution, because some of the so-called states were and are nothing more nor less than despotic oligarchies. We have seen and now see that what is called the "State," in some parts of the country, is simply a part of the white males who obtained (it matters not how), possession of the local machinery which they call, and the National Government recognizes, as the "State Government." This government never allows any of the inhabitants of the "State" who are not identified with the ruling oligarchy to have any voice in its government. The friends of Equal Rights can hope for no favorable action from such governments as these, for they are not only close corporations, but they are determined to allow none to become members of the corporation that the managers can not absolutely and easily control. With a view of perpetuating themselves in power through the local machinery called "the State," some of them have, during the past twenty-five years, practically nullified the fifteenth amendment of the Federal Constitution. The recent decision of the Supreme Court by which some of the different schemes and devices for this purpose were declared unconstitutional and void is a most hopeful and encouraging indication. Let the friends of equal suffrage take on renewed hope. Victory, and that too on a national basis will ultimately be an accomplished fact.

DISFRANCHISEMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

BY L. M. HERSHAW

Of the United States Land Office

As regards the ballot, men and women are equal in the District of Columbia; both are deprived of it. Citizens of the District of Columbia have not voted since 1874, the year in which the ballot was taken from them by act of Congress. From time to time since then fitful efforts have been made to recover the lost right, but there has been no properly organized sustained movement with that object in view.

The female population of the District of Columbia exceeds the male population in round numbers by 16,000. In intelligence, in public spirit, in moral influence and in support of established institutions and philanthropies the female population is the equal, and in some instances the superior of the male population. If suffrage is ever restored to the citizens of the District it should be made to include the women. The right of the woman to vote rests on the same basis as the right of the man: her humanity. "Honio sum, et humani a mi nil alienum puto;"—I am a human being, and I consider nothing belonging to the human race foreign to me is the maxim constituting the major premise of the logic of human rights. To deny woman the right to vote is so far forth a denial of her humanity.

In the District of Columbia where neither man nor woman votes, the woman is as worthy a member of the community as the man. If Congress should reenact suffrage in the District it is difficult to see how it could except women from its exercise without fixing upon them an undeserved stigma. The example of women voting in the District would go a long way toward educating the backward and unprogressive throughout the country to the necessity of doing justice to the other half of our common humanity.

VOTES AND LITERATURE

BY MRS. PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR

Matthew Arnold defined literature as a "criticism of life." By that he meant life in its entirety, not a part of it. Therefore, if a woman is to produce real literature, not pretty phrasing, she needs to have a firm grasp on all that makes life complete. The completion and perfection of life is love—love of home and family, love of humanity, love of country. No person living a mentally starved existence can do enduring work in any field, and woman without all the possibilities of life is starved, pinched, poverty-stricken. It is difficult to love your home and family if you be outcast and despised by them; perplexing to love humanity, if it gives you nothing but blows; impracticable to love your country, if it denies you all the rights and privileges which as citizens you should enjoy.

George Eliot, George Sand, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote great novels because they looked at life from the point of view of the masculine mind, with a background of centuries of suffrage. Yet each was peculiarly feminine. It is a significant fact that the American and English women who are now doing the real work in literature—not necessarily fiction—are the women who are most vitally interested in universal suffrage.

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WOMEN AND COLORED WOMEN

BY MRS. MARY B. TALBERT

Vice President-at-large, National Association of Colored Women

It should not be necessary to struggle forever against popular prejudice, and with us as colored women, this struggle becomes two-fold, first, because we are women and second, because we are colored women. Although some resistance is experienced in portions of our country against the ballot for women, because colored women will be included, I firmly believe that enlightened men, are now numerous enough everywhere to encourage this just privilege of the ballot for women, ignoring prejudice of all kinds.

The great desire of our nation to produce the most perfect form of government, shows incontestible proofs of advance. Advanced methods in prison reforms are shown by our own state Commissioner, Miss Katherine B. Davis. Advanced methods in school reforms are shown by Mrs.Ella Flagg Young, Superintendent of Education of Chicago. Advanced methods in the treatment of childhood and adolescence, are shown by the bureau of child welfare under Mrs. Julia C. Lathrop. Each of these women have been most kindly toward the colored women. In our own race advanced methods of industrial training are shown by Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, and numbers of other colored women in various lines have blazed the path of reform.

By her peculiar position the colored woman has gained clear powers of observation and judgment—exactly the sort of powers which are today peculiarly necessary to the building of an ideal country.

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"VOTES FOR MOTHERS"

BY MRS. CORALIE FRANKLIN COOK

Member of the Board of Education, District of Columbia

I wonder if anybody in all this great world ever thought to consider *man's* rights as an individual, by his status as a father? yet you ask me to say something about "Votes for Mothers," as if mothers were a separate and peculiar people. After all, I think you are not so far wrong. Mothers *are* different, or ought to be different, from other folk. The woman who smilingly goes out, willing to meet the Death Angel, that a child may be born, comes back from that journey, not only the mother of her own adored babe, but a near-mother to all other children. As she serves that little one, there grows within her a passion to serve humanity; not race, not class, not sex, but God's creatures as he has sent them to earth.

It is not strange that enlightened womanhood has so far broken its chains as to be able to know that to perform such service, woman should help both to make and to administer the laws under which she lives, should feel responsible for the conduct of educational systems, charitable and correctional institutions, public sanitation and municipal ordinances in general. Who should be more

competent to control the presence of bar rooms and "red-light districts" than mothers whose sons they are meant to lure to degradation and death? Who knows better than the girl's mother at what age the girl may legally barter her own body? Surely not the men who have put upon our statute books, 16, 14, 12, aye, be it to their eternal shame, even 10 and 8 years, as "the age of consent!"

If men could choose their own mothers, would they choose free women or bond-women? Disfranchisement because of sex is curiously like disfranchisement because of color. It cripples the individual, it handicaps progress, it sets a limitation upon mental and spiritual development. I grow in breadth, in vision, in the power to do, just in proportion as I use the capacities with which Nature, the All-Mother, has endowed me. I transmit to the child who is bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh and *thought of my thought; somewhat* of my own power or weakness. Is not the voice which is crying out for "Votes for Mothers" the Spirit of the Age crying out for the Rights of Children?

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"VOTES FOR CHILDREN"

BY MRS. CARRIE W. CLIFFORD

Honorary President of the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of Ohio

It is the ballot that opens the schoolhouse and closes the saloon; that keeps the food pure and the cost of living low; that causes a park to grow where a dump-pile grew before. It is the ballot that regulates capital and protects labor; that up-roots disease and plants health. In short, it is by the ballot we hope to develop the wonderful ideal state for which we are all so zealously working.

When the fact is considered that woman is the chosen channel through which the race is to be perpetuated; that she sustains the most sacred and intimate communion with the unborn babe; that later, she understands in a manner truly marvelous (and explain only by that vague term "instinct") its wants and its needs, the wonder grows that her voice is not the *first* heard in planning for the ideal State in which her child, as future citizen, is to play his part.

The family is the miniature State, and here the influence of the mother is felt in teaching, directing and executing, to a degree far greater than that of the father. At his mother's knee the child gets his first impressions of love, justice and mercy; and by obedience to the laws of the home he gets his earliest training in civics.

More and more is it beginning to be understood that the mother's zeal for the ballot is prompted by her solicitude for her family-circle.

That the child's food may be pure, that his environment shall be wholesome and his surrounding sanitary—these are the things which engage her thought. That his mind shall be properly developed and his education wisely directed; that his occupation shall be clean and his ideals high—all these are things of supreme importance to her, who began to plan for the little life before it was even dreamed of by the father.

Kindergartens, vacation-schools, playgrounds; the movement for the City Beautiful; societies for temperance and for the prevention of cruelty to children and animals—these and many other practical reforms she has brought to pass, *in spite of not having the ballot.* But as she wisely argues, why should she be forced to use indirect methods to accomplish a thing that could be done so much more quickly and satisfactorily by the direct method—by casting her own ballot?

The ballot! the sign of power, the means by which things are brought to pass, the talisman that makes our dreams come true! Her dream is of a State where war shall cease, where peace and unity be established and where love shall reign.

Yes, it is the great mother-heart reaching out to save her children from war, famine and pestilence; from death degradation and destruction, that induces her to demand "Votes for Women," knowing well that fundamentally it is really a campaign for "Votes for Children."

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TRAINING AND THE BALLOT

BY MARY FITZBUTLER WARING, M. D.

Chairman of the Department of Health and Hygiene, N. A. C. W.

In the earlier ages, the thought was common among the nations of the world,

BISHOP HURST MRS. ASBERRY MRS. BRUCE MRS. TERRELL

that woman was not the equal of man. Socially, religiously and politically she was compelled to take an inferior position and to submit to the will and wiles of man. In some countries she was not even considered as the legal parent of her own child.

The ability to weigh the merits of the persons to fill office and the value of ordinances which govern the people, requires a knowledge of men and affairs. A trained mind, no matter in what profession, is more capable of making logical deductions; therefore the people naturally turn for information to the enlightened. The question of sex is of no importance.

The work of the professional woman just as that of the professional man places her in a position to help the many with whom she necessarily comes in contact, and therefore her influence is a power to be reckoned with. The ethical relations of the professional woman makes her, ofttimes, the confidant and advisor of others and for that reason she should be well informed on political issues and aspirants for public office.

Trained judgment is needed everywhere and it should always be armed with the ballot.

DEMOCRACY AND ART

BY WILLIAM STANLEY BRAITHEWAITE

Author of Anthologies of Magazine Verse, etc.

We find that at almost every stage of its development Democracy has been betrayed by one or another of its idealist professors, except one. Democracy has its source in political ethics, but neither religion nor social justice have performed towards it, in practice, those strict obligations which are defined by the nature of their idealisms. Art alone has kept her covenant with Democracy.

Art is the embodiment of spiritual ideals. There is no human progress without a previsioning of the aspiration through one of the symbolic languages of art. All the great craving desires of humanity have been promised and attained through the message of art. Art cannot flourish in a democracy, is the critical opinion common to a good many. I say, that in the future, art will not flourish without democracy. All that democracy has gained in the last twenty years it has owed to the ideals of art. Was the social conscience of America vitalized by religion or the justice and wisdom of political enactments? No; but by an art, the art of poetry. The undemocratic methods of industrial power, did the Christian church protest against it? No; it was a poet with a passion and a message. Now, art has seen to it that public opinion consider all the rights and demands that democracy makes towards the justification of its ideals. These have not all been accomplished. It has got to eliminate racial prejudice which has governmental sanction, and it has got to win sufferance for all citizens alike. Art is bringing democracy face to face with beauty, and beauty knows neither race, caste nor sex. The social vision of art is complete. And its light is ever shining upon the luminous figure of Democracy, the ideal Mother of human hopes, the hopes of the rejected, of the denied, of the subjected individual.

The voice of art expressing the spirit of democracy is beautifully illustrated in

this passage from Mr. Witter Bynner's recently published poem "The New World:"

"To stop the wound and heal the scar
Of time, with sudden glorious aptitude
Woman assumes her part. Her pity in a flood
Flings down the gate.
She has been made to wait
Too long, undreaming and untaught
The touch and beauty of democracy.
But, entering now the strife
In which her saving sense is due,
She watches and she grows aware,
Holding a child more dear than property,
That the many perish to empower the few,
That homeless politics have split apart
The common country of the common heart."

BLACK WOMEN AND REFORM

BY MISS N. H. BURROUGHS

Secretary of the Woman's Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention

The Negro Church means the Negro woman. Without her, the race could not properly support five hundred churches in the whole world. Today they have 40,000 churches in the United States. She is not only a great moral and spiritual asset, but she is a great economic asset. I was asked by a southern white woman who is an enthusiastic worker for "votes for (white) women," "What can the Negro woman do with the ballot?" I asked her, "What can she do without it?" When the ballot is put into the hands of the American woman the world is going to get a correct estimate of the Negro woman. It will find her a tower of strength of which poets have never sung, orators have never spoken, and scholars have never written.

Because the black man does not know the value of the ballot, and has bartered and sold his most valuable possession, it is no evidence that the Negro woman will do the same. The Negro woman, therefore, needs the ballot to get back, by the wise *use* of it, what the Negro man has lost by the *misuse* of it. She needs it to ransom her race. A fact worthy of note is that in every reform in which the Negro woman has taken part, during the past fifty years, she has been as aggressive, progressive and dependable as those who inspired the reform or led it. The world has yet to learn that the Negro woman is quite superior in bearing moral responsibility. A comparison with the men of her race, in moral issues, is odious. She carries the burdens of the Church, and of the school and bears a great deal more than her economic share in the home.

Another striking fact is that the Negro woman carries the moral destiny of two races in her hand. Had she not been the woman of unusual moral stamina that she is, the black race would have been made a great deal whiter, and the white race a great deal blacker during the past fifty years. She has been left a prey for the men of every race, but in spite of this, she has held the enemies of Negro female chastity at bay. The Negro woman is the white woman's as well as the white race's most needed ally in preserving an unmixed race.

The ballot, wisely used, will bring to her the respect and protection that she needs. It is her weapon of moral defence. Under present conditions, when she appears in court in defence of her virtue, she is looked upon with amused contempt. She needs the ballot to reckon with men who place no value upon her virtue, and to mould healthy public sentiment in favor of her own protection.

THE SELF-SUPPORTING WOMAN AND THE BALLOT

BY MISS M. E. JACKSON

Of the Civil Service of the State of Rhode Island, President of the R. I. Association of Colored Women's Clubs

Looked at from a sane point of view, all objections to the ballot for women are but protests against progress, civilization and good sense.

"Woman's place is in the home." Would that the poorly paid toilers in field, work-shop, mill and kitchen, might enjoy the blessed refreshment of their own homes with accompanying assurance that those dependent upon them might be fed, clothed, properly reared and educated.

Each morning's sun beholds a mighty army of 8,000,000 souls marching forth to do battle for daily bread. You inquire who they are? Why, the mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of the men of America. "The weaker vessels," the majority of whom are constrained from necessity.

DR. WARING DR. CROGMAN MRS. TALBERT PRESIDENT HOPE

There is no field of activity in the country where women are not successfully competing with men. In the agricultural pursuits alone, there are over 900,000. In the ministry 7,000 dare preach the gospel with "Heads uncovered." And 1,010 possess the courage to invade the field of the Solons, bravely interpreting the laws, although their brothers in all but twelve of the forty-five States (so far as the ballot is concerned), class them with criminals, insane and feeble-minded.

The self-supporting woman out of her earnings, pays taxes, into the public treasury and through church, club and civic organization gives her moral backing unstintingly to her Country.

Imagine if you can the withdrawal of this marvelous economic force,—the working women of America! It is a fundamental necessity of modern civilization.

The laboring man has discovered beyond peradventure that his most effective weapon of defence is the *ballot in his own hand.* The self-supporting woman asks for and will accept nothing less.

"TRUST THE WOMEN!"

BY MRS. JOSEPHINE ST. PIERRE RUFFIN

Pioneer in the club movement among Colored Women of the United States

Many colored men doubt the wisdom of women suffrage because they fear that it will increase the number of our political enemies. I have been in suffrage work in Massachusetts for forty years and more. I have voted 41 times under the school suffrage laws. I was welcomed into the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association by Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, Ednah Cheney, Alby Morton Diaz and those other pioneer workers who were broad enough to include "no distinction because of race" with "no distinctions because of sex." I feel that a movement inaugurated by men and women of such wisdom and vision as that of the early workers, cannot dwindle or be side-tracked, and that today, as in those early days, the big women, the far seeing women, are in the ranks of the suffragists. We can afford to follow those women. We are justified in believing that the success of this movement for equality of the sexes means more progress toward equality of the races. I have worked, along with other colored women with those pioneers in the Abolition movement, in the various movements to open educational opportunities for women, business opportunities for women and to equalize the laws; the longer I have been associated with them, the more deeply I have been impressed by this farsightedness and broadmindedness of the leaders, both early and late, in the Woman Suffrage Movement.

Y. W. C. A.

BY MRS. A. W. HUNTON

Formerly Adviser to the National Board of Directors, Y. W. C. A.

A membership of more than a half million, representing some seventeen nationalities, makes the Young Women's Christian Association a world movement.

In the United States three hundred thousand members, distributed in 979 college, city and county associations have as their objective the advancement of the

"physical, social, intellectual, moral and spiritual interests of young women."

One of the most unique and wonderful characteristics of the association is the adaptability to meet the needs of all types of women, so that its membership is as diversified as women's lives and interests. This diversified membership, constituting at once the governing and sustaining force of the association, is its strongest barrier to any creed save that upon which the movement is founded.

However difficult it is to express any relation between the association and the suffrage movement, it is not difficult to understand that the association spirit dominating womanhood would count for righteousness in the solution of this important question.

Acutely suffering from the wrongs and humiliations of an unjustly restricted suffrage, it is but natural that the colored woman should feel deeply and keenly wherever the question of suffrage arises. But the colored woman within the association, in common with thousands of her sisters who have been touched by other spiritual forces, is animated by a fine spirit of idealism—an idealism not too far removed from everyday existence to find expression in service. Hence she is giving her energy largely to the development of the highest qualities of mind and soul—for these alone can give to the nation the best there is in citizenship.

VOTES FOR TEACHERS

BY MISS MARIA L. BALDWIN
Principal of the Agassiz Public School, Cambridge, Mass.

Women teachers in those states where school suffrage has already been granted them have found out that even so meagre a share of voting power has given them a definite influence, and has brought about a few notable results. In several cases local schools have been kept, by the women's vote, from the control of persons who threatened all that was best in them. Candidates for election to school boards reckon early with the "teacher vote" and hasten to announce their "rightness" on this or that issue supposedly dear to teachers. It is wholly reasonable to infer that the extension of the suffrage will enable teachers to secure more consideration for themselves, and to have an important influence on the quality of the persons chosen to direct the schools.

At the outset teachers will be confronted by the temptation of power—the temptation to use it for personal or selfish ends. What, as a class, will they do with this temptation! What motives will lie behind their advocacy of men and measures? What tests of fitness will they apply to the candidate for their votes? Will they decline to recognize fine qualities for school service in one who may hold heretical views about increase of salaries, or length of vacations? These questions, which would test any group of workers, I cannot answer. I can only submit what seems an earnest that this group may stand the test.

The profession of teaching has a rich inheritance. These convictions were bequeathed to it, to have and to hold: that the dearest interests of life are in its keeping; that its peculiar service to society is to nourish and perpetuate those noblest aspirations called its ideals; that to do such work one must be devoted and unselfish.

This tradition still inspires the teacher. Some of the unrest, the dissatisfaction with conditions that are everywhere has penetrated her world, but probably no other work is done less in the commercial spirit nor any service more expanded beyond what "is nominated in the bond." Many school rooms are moving pictures of this spirit at work.

One is warranted in thinking that teachers will transfer to their use of the ballot this habit of fidelity to ideals.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND SOCIAL REFORM

BY MISS ANNA H. JONES
Chairman of the Department of Education, National Association of Colored Women

Of the four great institutions of human uplift—the home, the school, the church, and the State, woman has a direct controlling force in the first three institutions. In the State her influence at present is indirect. Since her control in the three is unquestioned, should she not have the legal means—the ballot—to widen and deepen her work?

In terms of today, her work is the conservation and improvement of the

MRS. HUNTON MR. CHESNUTT MAJOR LYNCH MR. HERSHAW

child; child labor laws, inspection of the health of school children, safeguarding the youth in the home, in the school, in the court, in the street, in the place of amusement. Her work is the prevention of vice with its train of physical and moral evils; the enactment of laws to secure and regulate sanitation, pure food, prohibition, divorce; the care of the aged, the unfortunate, the orphan. All the questions touch in a very direct way the home—woman's kingdom.

When an experiment has been tried for a certain purpose it seems logical to refer to its success or failure. A review of the States in which women have had the ballot will show that their exercise of the franchise has been along the lines of reform mentioned above. Her ballot has not been cast against the forces of right. Is it probable that in the other, the more conservative States, her course will be less judicial?

It may take a little time for woman to learn to make the ballot count for righteousness, but her closer view, and sympathetic touch will be of material assistance in the solution of the social problems that confront her as the home-maker.

The century awaits the "finer issues" of woman's "finely touched spirit."

COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS

BY MRS. B. K. BRUCE

Editor of the official organ of the National Association of Colored Women

The national club movement among colored women began definitely in 1895, when a call was sent out from Boston by Mrs. Josephine St. P. Ruffin to a number of prominent colored women to meet in conference.

The special object of that conference was to repel and refute a vicious statement by an evil minded individual who had given currency to his false and misleading statements in book form. A national association called The National Federation of Colored Women, was formed at this conference.

The first convention of the new organization was called to meet a year later in July 1896, in Washington, D. C. In August of 1896 the first convention of the National League of Colored Women was held. The two organizations united under the name, National Association of Colored Women. In 1916 this organization will hold its tenth biennial session in Baltimore, Maryland. One year ago in Wilberforce, Ohio, the largest and most successful convention in its history was held. Over four hundred delegates, representing 50,000 women organized in clubs throughout the country, were present. The delegates came from the East, the West, the North, the South. The burden of the song of the numberless reports and addresses was social service not alone for colored people but for humanity. Miss Zona Gale said of the meeting that she had never attended a convention which so confirmed her belief in the possibilities of the common human race.

One thousand clubs are numbered with The National Association of Colored Women. In 1912-13 these clubs raised $82,424. Over $60,000 was spent in purchasing property for Orphans' Homes, Working Girls' Homes, Christian Association Homes, Social Settlements and so on. In 1914 the valuation of the various properties exceeded $100,000.

VOTES FOR PHILANTHROPY

BY MRS. ELIZABETH LINDSAY DAVIS
National Organizer, National Association of Colored Women

The New citizen is no longer a novelty nor an experiment. She is demonstrating at all times her fitness for her duties and responsibilities by study; by insistent investigation of all candidates for public office regardless of party lines; by an intelligent use of the ballot in correcting the evils arising from graft, dishonesty and misappropriation of public funds; by persistent agitation to arouse civic consciousness, until now she is a potent factor in the body politic.

Men recognize her intuitive ability to think and decide for herself, respect her opinions and bid for her vote.

The keynote in the music of the Twentieth Century is Social Service, and in no better way can systematic philanthropy be done than by using the power of the ballot upon the heads of the great corporations and private individuals to direct their attention to the serious consequences of present day industrial and social unrest, the crime, disease, and poverty emanating from bad housing and unwholesome environment, to train their hands to give systematically to the cause of human betterment.

Woman is a pioneer in the forward movement for Social uplift, racial and community development, whether for the abandoned wife, the wage earning girl, the dependent and delinquent child or the countless hordes of the unemployed.

The highest and most successfully developed philanthropical work depends absolutely upon the control of political influence by the best American citizenship, men and women working in unity and cooperation at the polls.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE 15TH AMENDMENT

BY MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL
Honorary President of the National Association of Colored Women

Even if I believed that women should be denied the right of suffrage, wild horses could not drag such an admission from my pen or my lips, for this reason: precisely the same arguments used to prove that the ballot be withheld from women are advanced to prove that colored men should not be allowed to vote. The reasons for repealing the Fifteenth Amendment differ but little from the arguments advanced by those who oppose the enfranchisement of women. Consequently, nothing could be more inconsistent than that colored people should use their influence against granting the ballot to women, if they believe that colored men should enjoy this right which citizenship confers.

What could be more absurd and ridiculous than that one group of individuals who are trying to throw off the yoke of oppression themselves, so as to get relief from conditions which handicap and injure them, should favor laws and customs which impede the progress of another unfortunate group and hinder them in every conceivable way. For the sake of consistency, therefore, if my sense of justice were not developed at all, and I could not reason intelligently, as a colored woman I should not tell my dearest friend that I opposed woman suffrage.

But how can any one who is able to use reason, and who believes in dealing out justice to all God's creatures, think it is right to withhold from one-half the human race rights and privileges freely accorded to the other half, which is neither more deserving nor more capable of exercising them?

For two thousand years mankind has been breaking down the various barriers which interposed themselves between human beings and their perfect freedom to exercise all the faculties with which they were divinely endowed. Even in monarchies old fetters which formerly restricted freedom, dwarfed the intellect and doomed certain individuals to narrow circumscribed spheres, because of the mere accident of birth, are being loosed and broken one by one. In view of such wisdom and experience the political subjection of women in the United States can be likened only to a relic of barbarism, or to a spot upon the sun, or to an octopus holding this republic in its hideous grasp, so that further progress to the best form of government is impossible and that precious ideal its founders promised it would be it seems nothing more tangible than a mirage.

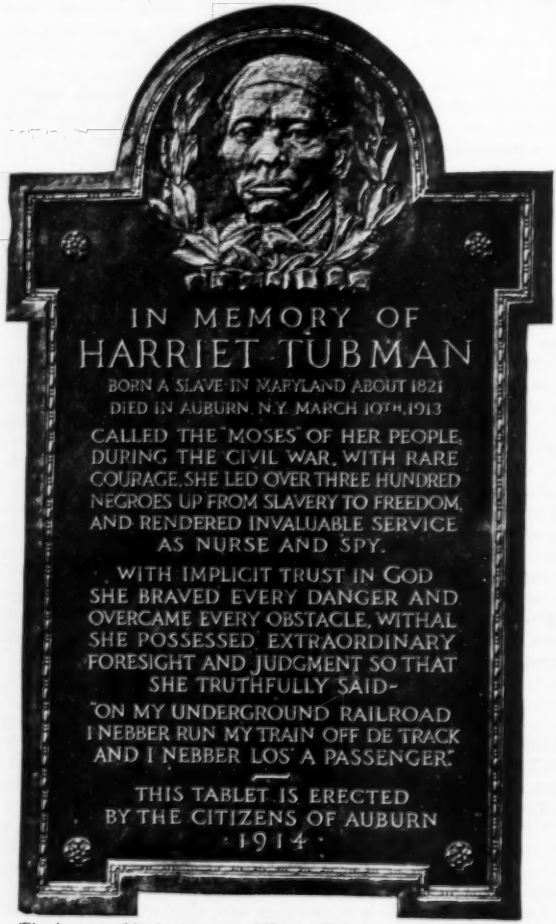
VOTES FOR HOUSEWIVES

BY MRS. LILLIAN A. TURNER

Honorary President of the Minnesota Association of Colored Women's Clubs

That the housewife, that great reasoner, will vote intelligently, is my happy conclusion, after reading the ponderous decision of a wise man, who protests that voters should be "only those who are able to substitute reason for sentiment." It is such a relief to have an impartial definition even though its close analysis might exclude a large portion of present voters. But my concern is with the housewife, the future voter, as tested by the wise man's definition.

Now, Sentiment is the housewife's most cherished possession; to this assertion all agree—the man, the anti-suffragist and the rest of us. Furthermore, lack of excessive use will keep it so, for the housewife early learns to substitute Reason for Sentiment. When Sentiment wails because husband walks two steps ahead instead of beside her; weeps because Boy's curls are shorn; foolishly resents the absence of the old attentions, and more foolishly dwells on an infinite variety of things, Reason comes nobly to the rescue and teaches her that none of these things are necessary to life. Reason is the constant substitute for her cherished Sentiment. But Reason's assertion, that protection from vice for Son of the Shorn Curls, is impracticable for business reasons, is too difficult for mental gymnastics. Sentiment conquers, and the housewife unreasonably demands the ballot to protect Son! However, Reason being already so well developed through "discipline by substitution" (still quoting the wise man) I have ceased to tremble when I hear dire predictions of the ruin that is expected to follow the rapid approach of woman's franchise.


IN MEMORY OF
HARRIET TUBMAN
BORN A SLAVE IN MARYLAND ABOUT 1821
DIED IN AUBURN, N.Y. MARCH 10TH, 1913
CALLED THE "MOSES" OF HER PEOPLE.
DURING THE CIVIL WAR, WITH RARE
COURAGE, SHE LED OVER THREE HUNDRED
NEGROES UP FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM,
AND RENDERED INVALUABLE SERVICE
AS NURSE AND SPY.
WITH IMPLICIT TRUST IN GOD
SHE BRAVED EVERY DANGER AND
OVERCAME EVERY OBSTACLE, WITHAL
SHE POSSESSED EXTRAORDINARY
FORESIGHT AND JUDGMENT SO THAT
SHE TRUTHFULLY SAID-
"ON MY UNDERGROUND RAILROAD
I NEBBER RUN MY TRAIN OFF DE TRACK
AND I NEBBER LOS' A PASSENGER."
THIS TABLET IS ERECTED
BY THE CITIZENS OF AUBURN
1914

The bronze tablet in memory of Harriet Tubman erected at Auburn, New York. Designed and cast by John Williams, Inc. Bronze Founders, New York.

[Articles were received too late for insertion from President John Hope, Hon. C. W. Anderson, Mrs. G. W. Morgan, Hon. W. H. Lewis and Mrs. N. J. Asberry.]

THE RAINS

A Story of Jamaica

By KELSEY PERCIVAL KITCHEL

"Some love too little, some too long,
Some sell and others buy;
Some do the deed with many tears,
And some without a sigh:
For each man kills the things he loves."

The Ballad of Reading Gaol.

WHEN Teddy Barnaby sailed for Jamaica he carried mingled feelings of heroism, heartache and hope in his youthful breast. He was thoroughly alive, so he told his friends, to the grave importance of his departure for the distant wastes of the tropics. How could there be a real civilization so far from Hyde Park he questioned.

His eyes stung a bit as he watched a certain little figure grow dim on the wharf as the "Port Antonio" slid into deep water. Oh, yes, he loved her truly, the pink-and-white girl standing there waving her handkerchief and crying. He promised himself for the hundredth time to make haste to earn enough for his return to England for the wedding they had planned together so often. Then he considered the paradisaical season that should be theirs in Devon after which She would go back with him to the islands. He was sorry for himself. From self pity his thoughts ran on to the hazy but limitless schemes he had for fortune-making in the coffee-fields.

Once in Kingston he settled comfortably in the slow gait of tropic life, waiting unconcernedly for the issue of a letter his father had sent to a friend of the Rugby days, gone years before to the West Indies. It had been hoped he would find the boy employment. There is scant room for younger sons at Home.

The letter brought Colonel Willoughby in person to see the son of his long ago chum. And rather excitedly, for he was old and addicted to the use of planters' punch, he besought Teddy to take the place of head-man at Blenheim, which was one of the Colonel's estates laid edgewise on the South side of the Blue Mountains. With the situation went the princely remuneration of two hundred pounds a year.

So Teddy packed his London clothes and his French novels in the two tin boxes which the Colonel had insisted he would need to protect his belongings from the ants and rain, and the two men drove to Gordon Town; there they found pack-mules and the lean hill horses waiting to take them up the narrow trail to the mountains.

Riding past sugar - banana - and coffee-plantations and then into the steamy darkness of the virgin forest Teddy Barnaby stared about him with a faint distaste: Jamaica was too crude; he preferred England. And this fact he told his mother and his promised wife in almost all of the fat letters he sent home. He described too, as vividly as possible his one-room tin house and his loneliness—especially the loneliness.

In time he discovered that the islanders were really civilized enough to have tea in their precipitous rose-gardens just as the people in England did.

Daily he amused himself by imagining how the dainty pink-and-white person would adorn the rose-embowered cottage among the cloud-capped mountains; and

he planted roses against the corrugated-iron walls preparing for the future. This, too, he wrote about to the two women who secretly cried a little and kissed the letters much.

But as the months scarcely varying in heat, passed, his enthusiasm for the new work wore away and Teddy looked about for diversion; letter-writing could not fill all the long blank evenings after the Rains came.

The Rains were partly responsible for his choice of diversion.

They march over the mountains straight and heavy without wind or thunder; shutting out hill after hill, tree after tree; the rocks seem to gush water; springs start from under a man's very feet; and the rivers roar and groan under their burden. When, at rare intervals the clouds break, the unfathomable blue of the tropical sky is revealed and, perhaps, the palpitant pale line of the sea; then the light and color vanish behind the grey circle of snoring rain. And always from the valleys rises the deep song of running water.

Teddy sat in his one room shuddering with loneliness. And so, when slender black Phema came with the regularity of the early nightfall to prepare his tea and light the lamp, he found himself making excuses for her to stay and listen to him talk. He was very lonely.

The Rains may be borne for a day or two or for a week, but when the narrow ring of rain curtains the newcomer for a month or more, he stands in danger of many things. He must have iron nerve or no imagination to live the first wet season through alone without a scar on mind or conscience. The older planters pass the time with bottle or book; with accounts or butterfly collections, or in whist at ha'penny points. But Teddy, remembering the Summer storms at home idled at his window waiting for the clouds to lift.

He was the only white man on the mountain then, for the Colonel had betaken himself to England to drink the wine of his youth, and Teddy was left in charge of "Blenheim." He should have known better—the Colonel—his head-man was too young and too ignorant of hill-life to watch out the first Rains alone.

He braved them for two weeks. Then something in him snapped—the tender threads which bound him to the outer world, the White world of the north.

The interminable ages between a daylight and a dark came full of a hideous dread. A longing for companionship gripped him. He wondered how he could endure the night of shadows; the prying fingers of the rain about the roof; the phantoms tapping at the door till in spite of himself he opened to them to find nothing but a wild breath of the mountain spirit which blew mockingly upon his cheek wetting it with warm rain. Fretfully he would slam the thin door shut and sit nursing his thoughts which were anything but wholesome. Something in him snapped, that night, indeed.

After the two months passed and the breaking clouds let the streaming, smoking hills extend their vast backs in the warmth of the revivifying sun, Teddy took up his life where he had left it off or near enough to the old way to deceive himself.

Astride his Waler he went among "the people" as they gathered the scarlet cherries on the hill-sides; he dogged the "boys" cutting "bush," and when the spirit moved him he flicked the bent backs with the curling whip which was always tucked in his belt. In return they loved him; loved him for the very welts and bruises which he lavished on them. And added to the reverence and affection for him as the better man which stirred the hearts of the male blacks, the women worshipped him.

Through the picking he was always far afield and Phema brought his luncheon daily down the steeps. The tray, laden with curried fowl and boiled plantain and covered neatly with a serviette from the interested gaze of the people, made the journey on her head; she never raised her hand to steady it as she swayed between the coffee-trees, her slim body balancing from rock to rock, her skin showing blue-black through the rags of her bleached blouse.

She was attractive in her way and it was a way that Teddy liked. There was a pleasure for him in her eyes as from under her vivid handkerchief they

sought his with the glance of abject love; he liked her fresh, damp lips protruding childishly as though she pouted ever so little; he liked the supple play of her body at the waist, and the small faultless breasts under the coarse linen.

Placing the tray beneath some orange-tree she would kneel waiting her master's will. In the ring of shade, leaning over his tray he would toss a word to her now and then at which her face would light and flinging her arms across her chest she would rock with joy, crooning some black girl's bewitching song of the hills.

And Teddy was content.

He dropped into the way of calling her by names which his tongue had learned in England—names belonging to a fairer woman.

When he thought of home it was vaguely; when letters came he read them carefully, affectionately, but his fancy did not fly so often to the possibilities of the rose-embowered cottage.

At last the crop was in and rejoicing at the respite from his labors, Teddy had his horse saddled for a journey to Kingston. Meekly Phema packed the clothes of civilization in the tin box; then with her dog-like eyes she followed him down the bridle-path till he disappeared behind a shoulder of the mountain. At once she set about preparing a feast for his return.

She learned that season to face him dry-eyed when he announced his intention of departing for "the bottom." He disliked tears. She tried to reason out some comfort for herself but always ended with the simple wish that he would never go away from her again.

So the year ran out that kept the Colonel in England.

He arrived at last in his big stone house and he brought many messages from two women for Teddy. And in fond remembrance of long sweet English days that caused him to wink quickly in recalling, he offered the boy six months' leave and a generous advance upon the two hundred a year.

Teddy, with all the stored-up heart-hunger of eighteen months' absence from everything that he held dear, exulted as he ordered Phema to pack his boxes. He intimated that he might be gone a little longer than usual but he could not bring himself to tell her any more.

She watched him ride singing down the path, and she waited for his home-coming. She put the tin house in order; she cooked his ricey-coco, and she waited.

Then a whisper grew and stirred among the people that the Young Master had gone Home to take a wife. Patiently Phema denied and waited.

The roses which Teddy had planted flourished, half-covering the unsightly walls and Phema tended them, still waiting. The black women shunned her and laughed behind their hands for she had been too simple and too happy to throw any cloak of concealment over her great enchantment. So in her solitude she waited.

Teddy Barnaby and his wife stepped from the gang-plank of the "Port Antonio" six months later and he carried his head with the conscious pride of the man who walks beside a woman more than pretty and who is all—his.

It was not reluctantly that they mounted their horses and started on the upward climbing path to the cloudy hills. The future held so much for both of them that they were eager for each day's dawning.

She looked with curiosity about her; so lately come from bland and urban England the ride through the virile, primal jungle was an awakening. She had only known tamed trees and fields and flowers and fragrant blossomed hedgerows along quiet lanes; she had only known passionless, faint skies and she gazed wide-eyed at the raw gigantic wilderness. She felt, so she told Teddy, as though behind the lush trees, the beetling cliffs, the blazing sky there lurked a Thing with enigmatic smile, waiting, brooding . . .

He laughed outright at her, "That's silly, you know, little woman!" and thereafter she kept her fears to herself.

The path twisting on itself wound through teak and mahogany forests. Tall wild begonia and heliotrope brushed the face of Teddy's wife "As though they were trying me!" she thought with a little shiver. In the indentures of the highlands—creases left by some dead volcano—singing burns danced down

over massed rocks and between high fern. On one side rose the sheer hills to the scintillant sky; on the other they fell away till rivers and verdure below were lost in mist. Sometimes a string of galled donkeys laden with coffee would pass, crushing Teddy and his wife close to the warm red rocks.

Lianas reached across the path; orchids flickered in the trees like living flame; John Crows hung motionless waiting for the ever-present death to feed them. To Teddy's wife everything seemed to be waiting.

Darkness fell and the homely little lights shone out from the tenants' huts and in the air was the sharp smell of wood fires and frying yams. The Peak shouldered up into the brightening stars and in the stillness of the hill-night Teddy and his wife came to Blenheim.

The Colonel, pushing aside his own punch which was dearer to his heart than all the grapes of Italy, honored them with his imported bottles. And as they laughed and lingered over dinner he told how the tin house had undergone a change for the bride's sake—it was "now a bungalow over which I trust you are to reign in happiness!" he said gallantly.

He led them there in the starlight and it was the rose-embowered cottage of Teddy's dreams come true. And then the Colonel left them with their new happiness and their old love.

Teddy's wife was provided with two black girls who were to obey her housewifely commands and to serve the meals in the jalousied dining-room. Teddy no longer stayed in the fields for luncheon but rode the hot steep miles to sit in the bungalow with the girl whose face haunted him all the hours he was away from her,—the face with its fearless eyes and mouth to be crushed with kissing.

But she being mistress of so small a dwelling found, that prolong it as she might, she could occupy but a portion of each day in the care thereof, sought out the "poor" as she called the blacks. For the whole of a London season she had slummed and now she threw herself enthusiastically into the life of the people.

Teddy came home from the coffee-fields to find her brewing gruels and broths; or else hemming sundry garments; once he said to her:

"Don't poke about too much; you may run across a skeleton!" and they both laughed. Gradually her dread of the Thing grew less.

As for Teddy, he had not seen Phema since his return and he harboured a hazy hope at the back of his brain that the Colonel must have "heard something" and sent her to another estate; he was a good sort, the Colonel, and he would do that, Teddy was quite sure. So he pushed his memories aside.

But there came a morning when as the black girl cleared the breakfast table, she glanced toward Teddy's wife filling a shallow bowl with flaunting orchids, and some obscure emotion rose in her, some world-old race-hate for the flower-like face.

"Phema, she sick, Missus," she said laconically.

Instantly the orchids dropped and the mobile countenance reflected the sympathy of the voice that asked where Phema was to be found and who Phema was.

"She yonder, Missus," and the girl pointed to a thatched hut below the bungalow.

"Why, I didn't know anyone lived there! You girls have always said the hut was empty—" and Teddy's wife hastily filled the bowl with her flowers, then clasping a jar of broth in her hands and with a bancra full of medicines on her arm, she scrambled down the coffee-fields to the hut.

The acre of ground surrounding it was planted in scallions; a dishevelled banana grew beside the step and in the path wallowed a scraggy hog.

The door and single window were tightly closed in order to keep out the "duppy" that seeks to enter a house of sickness. Teddy's wife tapped, expectant of the dozen friends who hover round the bed of an afflicted black, but there was no answer. She lifted the wooden latch and stepped within, blinded at first with the dark of the airless room. Faintly she heard the broken speech of delirium.

Over and over the voice said a name.

Teddy's wife shrank against the door, a catch in her throat—why must it be that name of all there were in the world,

she thought. Then goaded by the spectre-Thing smiling, waiting in the great hideous jungle—smiling at her and her puny fear—she walked across the room.

She leaned over the tossing bundle in the corner and her clasp on the jar of broth tightened; her heart beat thickly and she shivered a little for in the crook of the black woman's arm lay a child but a few hours born and it was nearly white.

The mother's eyes, blued with pain and the shine which precedes death, opened and the clouded mind struggled to understand the meaning of the face that had risen from the silence to stare at the baby in that dreadful way. Reason came presently and Phema snatched the baby close to her meagre breast and whispered:

"Why, Missus, hab yo' come? Yo' want my baby? . . . His baby? . . . Ah! yo' buckra will not even let us black people die in peace! Yo' use us fo' yo' work or fo' yo' pleasure like de mules, until we die—den yo' come to look an' laugh!"

Teddy's wife shivered again and the jar of broth slipped from her fingers. Phema's small, choked whisper continued:

"Yo' be de wife Young Massa went to England to fetch out. Me know! Me watched yo' in de house wid he. . . . Yo' kep' he from me t'rough one dry season and de Rains . . . an' yet, Young Massa did gib me—dis!" She touched the child; her red-brown eyes met the blue ones of Teddy's wife while over each face crept the grey of death—one of the body—one of the soul.

And outside in the hard, white sunlight Teddy Barnaby rode singing home to luncheon.

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National Ass'n For the Advancement of Colored People

VITALIZING THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT

The decision of the United States Supreme Court handed down by Chief Justice White, a Southerner and ex-Confederate soldier, and declaring the "Grandfather Clause" laws void, is the most important decision affecting colored people rendered by the Supreme Court in twenty-five years. It vitalizes the Fifteenth Amendment. The National Association which through its President, Mr. Moorfield Storey, filed a brief in the Guinn and Beal case from Oklahoma had a part in this important proceeding.

Three cases were before the Court: one from Maryland where the clause was embodied in a law relating to registration and municipal elections; two others from Oklahoma where the clause was embodied in an amendment to the Constitution which imposed a literacy test from which those who were entitled to vote prior to January 1, 1866, those who were then foreigners, and their lineal descendants were exempted. Chief Justice White handed down first the Court's opinion in the Oklahoma case of Guinn and Beal and that made the ruling out of the Maryland statute inevitable. The Court was unanimous in the two principal cases. Mr. Justice Lamar dissented in the case from Oklahoma wherein Mr. Justice Holmes delivered the opinion. Mr. Justice McReynolds took no part in the cases.

The Constitution of Oklahoma, upon which that territory was admitted to the Union as a State, gave something like manhood suffrage. Prior to the election of 1910, however, an amendment was adopted restricting the franchise by a "Grandfather Clause." The case from Oklahoma known as the

case of Frank Guinn and J. J. Beal vs. the United States arose from the indictment and conviction of certain election officers in Oklahoma for their part in enforcing the State Constitutional Amendment in question at the general election in 1910. The opinion of the Supreme Court was technically an answer by that Court to questions certified to it by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.

The United States Government was represented by its Solicitor General who, on the request of our President, Mr. Storey, permitted him to file a brief for this Association. This was done in October, 1913, and Mr. Jackson Ralston, an eminent lawyer of Washington, D. C. who presented the brief to the Court for Mr. Storey, wrote that the Solicitor General had expressed himself as being extremely sympathetic with regard to the position taken by this Association, and confident as to what he apparently regarded as the necessary result of the argument.

The Association's offer of assistance to the colored men concerned in the Maryland cases brought to test the validity of the Annapolis Election Law was refused. It afterward developed that these suits were set on foot by the State Central Committee of the Republican Party during the campaign of 1909, which turned upon the issue of a disfranchising amendment to the State Constitution. This amendment was defeated. The suits were tried in the lower court by the Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte and other counsel. Mr. Bonaparte did not, however, argue the cases in the Supreme Court. It is reported that immediately after Judge Morris of the United States District Court of Maryland declared the Election Law invalid, the town of Ellicott, Md., was unable to hold its election because both Republicans and Democrats refused to serve as election officers.

The Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court summed up the opinion of the Court in these words:

"There seems no escape from the conclusion that to hold that there was even possibility for dispute on the subject would be but to declare that the Fifteenth Amendment not only had not the self-executing power which it has been recognized to have from the beginning, but that its provisions were wholly inoperative because susceptible of being rendered inapplicable by mere forms of expression embodying no exercise of judgment and resting upon no discernible reason other than the purpose to disregard the prohibitions of the amendment by creating a standard of voting which on its face was in substance but a revitalization of the conditions which, when they prevailed in the past, had been destroyed by the self-operative force of the amendment. * * * It is true it contains no express words of an exclusion, from the standard which it establishes, of any persons on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude prohibited by the Fifteenth Amendment, but the standard itself inherently brings that result to existence, since it is based purely on a period of time before the enactment of the Fifteenth Amendment and makes that period the controlling and dominant test of the right of suffrage.

"We are unable to discover how, unless the prohibitions of the Fifteenth Amendment were considered, the slightest reason was afforded for basing the classification upon a period of time prior to the Fifteenth Amendment. Certainly it cannot be said that there was any peculiar necromancy in the time named which engendered attributes affecting the qualification to vote which would not exist at another and different period unless the Fifteenth Amendment was in view."

LOUISVILLE SEGREGATION ORDINANCE

The National Association has also put its legal work on record in the Louisville segregation case passed upon by the Kentucky Court of Appeals on June 18 when the Court declared the segregation ordinance valid. This case was carried through the lower courts to the Court of Appeals by the Louisville Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., with the assistance of the National office. The Branch began its activities in this case about a year ago when the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association and Mr. Brinsmade, who was then its attorney, addressed a mass meeting in

Quinn Chapel, Louisville, called to protest against the passage of the ordinance.

The decision of the Court of Appeals was anticipated by the National Association and a representative from Headquarters was in Louisville when the Court declared the ordinance valid. A series of meetings was immediately held by the local Branch culminating in a mass meeting at which the work of the Branch was endorsed and a Committee of One Hundred and More of its members organized to begin a campaign to raise part of the funds necessary to carry the case up to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Committee of One Hundred and More represents all elements of the city including churches, schools, and secret societies, and is working under twenty-five captains. The National office has agreed to furnish the balance of the funds necessary and to cooperate with the Branch with legal advice. A full account of the work of the Committee will appear in a later issue of THE CRISIS.

The importance of the Louisville ordinance is far reaching: Birmingham, Ala., and other cities are watching the outcome of this case before proceeding to pass segregation ordinances. A segregation case brought by the Baltimore Branch to test the new city ordinance is now pending in the highest court of Maryland, and in St. Louis our Branch is endeavoring to check the attempt which local real estate men are making to pass a segregation ordinance by means of an initiative petition.

In the Louisville case, C. H. Buchanan, a white man, is suing William Warley, a colored man, for failure on the part of the latter to fulfil his contract in paying for a lot which he purchased from Buchanan and on which one hundred dollars has already been paid down. Mr. Warley, who is President of the local Branch, refuses to pay the balance, on the ground that he is prevented from using the lot by the segregation ordinance. The men who are responsible for the Louisville ordinance are reported to have taken many suggestions from the decision of the Maryland Supreme Court which, in declaring the former Baltimore segregation ordinance invalid, pointed out how a valid ordinance might be drawn. The makers of the Louisville ordinance claim that its strength is in its protection of vested rights. In giving the decision of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, the Judge said that if colored people did not like the parts of the city in which they were segregated, they could improve them as whites have improved the sections they occupy!

One of the most aggravating things about this ordinance is that it does not represent the real feeling of the best white people of Louisville who have generally been friendly to colored people. It is the result of the work of a few politicians who represent the interests of a small group of white property owners. Many of the white people of Louisville, although they are indifferent and would take no active part against the ordinance, disapprove it, and some openly express their condemnation. The only ones, however, who had the courage publicly to protest were three white women, representative Southerners, who when the measure was before the Mayor, went to him and urged him not to sign it. The Men's Federation took no action whatever on this ordinance. In this connection it is interesting to note that this club, which claims to represent the civic interests of Louisville, does not include in its membership Unitarians, Roman Catholics, Jews or colored people!

Just before this ordinance passed, an attempt was made by another group of property owners to introduce Jim Crow cars. This group of white people who are developing a new suburb, to reach the heart of the city are obliged to ride through a colored section of the town in cars which are often crowded with colored people. It is reported that the failure of this effort to bring in the Jim Crow car was largely due to some broad-minded white women.

It will be remembered that the National Association refused to associate with counsel in the Jim Crow car case brought from Oklahoma known as McCabe et al. vs. Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, although in order to help Mr. Harrison, the colored lawyer who had charge of the case, the Association paid one hundred and eighty dollars to print the record. Mr. Storey refused to file a brief or appear before

the U. S. Supreme Court on the ground that the case was not properly drawn. As was noted in the CRISIS for January, his comment on the case almost a year before the opinion of the Court was handed down, was almost identical with that of Judge Hughes, who said that if the case had come before the Court in proper form it would have had a good chance of having been decided on its merits.

It is the purpose of the Association to bring a succession of cases to the Supreme Court until it has placed that Court on record on Jim Crow cars, segregation and the race question in general.

BRANCHES

Baltimore:

Mr. Carl J. Murphy, a graduate of Harvard, 1913, and instructor in German, has been refused admission to the summer courses of Johns Hopkins University on the ground that "no provision has been made for colored students." The matter was referred to the National office and a letter of protest immediately sent to the university authorities.

Mr. Julius C. Johnson was elected President of the Branch in place of Dr. F. N. Cardozo, whose resignation was accepted with regret and with a vote of appreciation for his services. Under Dr. Cardozo's leadership the Baltimore Branch has grown in influence and membership until it ranks among the best in the Association. Dr. Cardozo, although a busy physician, has been an indefatigable worker for the Association. He has given generously of his time and of his income as his unselfish devotion to the cause often compelled him to neglect his practice. He has never received remuneration of any kind for his services and was always anxious that public recognition should be given to his associates rather than himself. The Association knows it will have his cooperation in the ranks as heartily as when he was president. He has set a high standard of idealism and achievement for his successor.

Boston:

The reception and supper which the Boston Branch gave in the vestry of the Park Street Church in honor of Miss Elizabeth C. Putnam, was attended by one hundred and twenty-five guests. Mr. Garrison, the President, resigned the chair to Mr. Butler R. Wilson who presided. The object in giving the supper to Miss Putnam was happily presented by the Rev. Horace Bumstead, and Miss Putnam responded in a most interesting address, largely reminiscent, giving the history of the relations of her family with colored people as far back as the Revolution. There were short addresses by Dr. Ernest Gruening, Miss Maria L. Baldwin, the Rev. Benjamin F. Swain and others. A selection of songs was given by Mrs. Mattie McAdoo.

Among the generous contributions which the Association has recently received, is a check for $91.03 from Mrs. Butler R. Wilson of Boston, the balance of the proceeds from a series of musicales and assemblies arranged by Mrs. Wilson which have already netted the Association $67.20.

California, Northern:

This Branch gave a reception to Mr. Moorfield Storey, the National President, at which Mr. Storey made an address emphasizing the necessity of thorough organization, the need of a strong working fund, of the development of a central scheme for work, and the dropping of petty differences. Short addresses were made by Mr. Walter A. Butler, Mr. T. M. Jackson and others.

Cleveland:

This Branch reports that it has succeeded in having a teacher who discriminated against colored pupils removed from the public schools and that it has also been able to place men in positions which had previously been closed to colored applicants. It has held several successful meetings with Judge Thomas M. Kennedy, Hon. John P. Green, Mrs. Mary Bethune, the Rev. B. F. Bradley and Mrs. Carrie W. Clifford of Washington as speakers.

Columbus:

A committee of this Branch, uniting with churches and other organizations, filed a protest with the Chief of Police requesting the investigation of the shooting of a colored woman, Miss Hallie Harris, who happened to be passing along the street when two police officers, Thomas Robinson and William Bragg,

were trying to arrest a colored boy without warrant for an alleged misdemeanor. The shooting took place about three o'clock in the afternoon. The petition demanded the suspension of the police officers pending investigation.

District of Columbia:

Discrimination in the Post Office in Washington has again been reported to the National office and a strong protest sent to the Postmaster General who has replied that the matter is being investigated.

The President, Mr. Grimke, has succeeded in getting two colored girls reinstated on the temporary force in the Department of the Auditor of the Post Office. In presenting the matter to Mr. Kram, Chief of this department, Mr. Grimke pointed out that in discharging these girls who were the only colored employees, the Department had dismissed 100 per cent. of the colored temporary force, at the same time discharging only about 35 per cent. of the corresponding white force.

The Branch closed its campaign for new members with an enrollment of 1100. Mr. William Miner, of the committee, secured the largest number, sixty-six new members and fourteen subscribers to the CRISIS. The report of this committee, of which Prof. Thomas W. Turner is Chairman and Miss Mary Cromwell, Secretary, was received too late for publication this month. The greater part of it will be printed in the next issue.

Des Moines:

On June 2 this Branch held a second educational meeting with Dr. G. H. Sumner, Secretary of the Iowa Board of Health as the chief speaker. This was one of a series of meetings arranged by the Educational Committee which is giving the colored people of the city an opportunity to hear lectures by some of the State's most distinguished citizens.

Los Angeles:

The Los Angeles Branch addressed a circular letter to the candidates for Mayor and the City Council which in a series of questions requested an expression of opinion on the following matters to be decided at the coming election: Single telephone plan, the initiative ordinance relating to jitney busses which permits discrimination against colored people, an ordinance creating a censoring board vested with sufficient authority to prohibit pictures against the public interest, and an ordinance prohibiting discrimination in the matter of seats in motion picture houses. The Los Angeles *Post*, in publishing a summary of the answers and in recommending that colored people vote for those candidates whose answers showed them alive to the interests of colored people, emphasized that the N. A. A. C. P. did not endorse any political party or candidate.

Pittsburgh:

Although this Branch has only been organized a few months, its membership is over four hundred. This increase is largely due to the splendid work of the Membership Committee which has associated with it a number of representative women in sub-committees whose energetic efforts in a short time brought in almost one hundred and fifty members.

The Pittsburgh Branch united with other organizations in a public protest against "The Birth of a Nation" and a committee from the Branch called upon the Mayor to protest. An ordinance prepared by Mr. William M. Randolph, the President, prohibiting moving picture plays "which shall tend to prejudice the public mind against any class of law-abiding citizens" was referred to the City Law Department by the Mayor.

Through the activity of the Branch discrimination in one of the large department stores has been checked. A committee is now conferring with the officers of the Boy Scouts in regard to conditions on which colored boys can be admitted to that organization.

The quarterly meeting of the Branch on June 23rd, was attended by about 500. Miss Nerney made the principal address.

The sum of the matter is this: Half the governed, even in culture lands, have no voice in their government. This is wrong. Next November you may help right this wrong. Will you do it?

Remember that one step toward the abolition of unjust Race discrimination is the abolition of unfair discrimination because of Sex.

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Now, you who read this, and you who have for several months been reading this series of talks, have you ever stopped and asked yourself seriously: "When will I be insurable?" When a life insurance agent talked to you last, maybe you put him off until LATER. But do you know that in insurance LATER does not come? You know you are going to die. There is no doubt of it. Do you intend to wait until you realize that Death is near before insuring? You are making a mistake. Whenever the realization dawns on you that you have not long to live, the physician who examines you, if he is honest, and most of them are, knows the same thing. When you get so near death that you want insurance, you are too near for a life insurance company to take a risk on your life.

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OPINIONS

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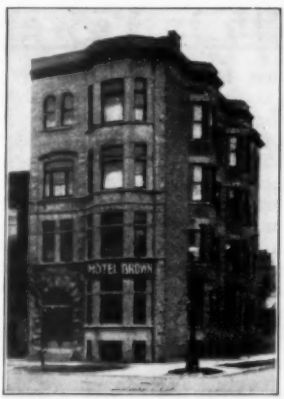

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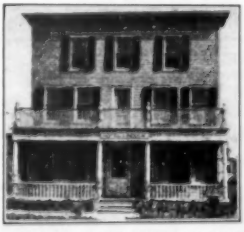

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